THIS is a record of the Scottish Regiments—those raised in Scotland and those formed by Scotsmen throughout the Commonwealth and Empire.

The fighting reputation of the Scottish, springing from the turbulent history of the Clans has carried the national characteristics to the ends of the earth.

The warlike histories of the Scottish and Empire-Scottish Regiments recorded here are accompanied by a large number of colour plates, remarkable for their precision in detail and for their inherent decorative quality. These illustrations are a most important part of the book. They will be invaluable to Theatrical costumiers, Film producers, artists, military tailors, makers of model soldiers, and many others, quite apart from the general reader.

Continued on second turn-in

THE story of the tartans and the kilt and the pipes, the regimental badges, uniforms and battle honours are all told with discrimination, without losing in the mass the inherent splendour of the subject.

This is indeed a book to warm the hearts of Scotsmen at home, in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa or wherever they may be, for the call to arms has always found them ready to defend their adopted country with the same efficiency and fervour that they have shewn for their native land.

The Author has given us a rich store of accurate and fascinating detail in his beautiful illustrations and has woven together the histories of the Scottish fighting units like the lines in a tartan sett.

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THE UNIFORMS & HISTORY OF

THE SCOTTISH REGIMENTS

By the same Author:

A HISTORY OF THE
REGIMENTS & UNIFORMS
OF THE
BRITISH ARMY

PLATE I

The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-Shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's)
Company Officer—Review Order.
1904

THE UNIFORMS & HISTORY OF

THE SCOTTISH REGIMENTS

BRITAIN–CANADA–AUSTRALIA–NEW ZEALAND–SOUTH AFRICA

1625 to the Present Day

By

Major R. Money Barnes

Member of the Royal United Service Institution

&

The Society for Army Historical Research

In collaboration with

C. Kennedy Allen

F.S.A. (Scot.)

On whose suggestion this work was undertaken

&

Lieut. Thomas B. Beatty, Jnr.

U.S.N.R.

Foreword by Gen. Sir Neil Methuen Ritchie

G.B.E., K.C.B., D.S.O., M.C.

formerly Colonel of The Black Watch

COLOUR PLATES

BY THE AUTHOR

LINE DRAWINGS

BY T. B. BEATTY

LONDON

Seeley Service & Co.

Limited

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

This book is dedicated to
Scottish Soldiers
to the part they have played
&
in establishing, colonizing & defending
The British Commonwealth
&
Empire

FOREWORD

It is a greatly appreciated compliment to have been asked to write the Foreword to this book on Scottish Regiments Throughout the World.

In doing so, I would especially commend it for two particular reasons, if not for many others.

In the first place; the adventurous nature of the Scots has in no small measure contributed to the colonization of an awakening world during the past two or three centuries. This trend of Scottish enterprise has, in many cases, found its beginnings in the presence of Scottish soldiers in distant, dangerous and rugged lands far over the seas from their native Scotland; lands which to-day are to be counted amongst the most enlightened and fruitful of the world. So we can justly claim that in the world picture the Scottish Regiments have contributed much.

Secondly; it is not without significance that a Britisher and a citizen of the United States of America have combined in the production of this work on Scottish soldiers. It is a symbol of a solidity of purpose, unity of effort, between our two countries upon which the future of the Western Democracies so largely depends.

NEIL RITCHIE
General
Formerly Colonel, The Black Watch

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INTRODUCTION

The object of this book is to describe, in outline, the history of the Scottish regiments—those raised in Scotland, and those formed by Scotsmen throughout the Commonwealth and Empire, whose guiding thought is never to lose touch with their home country and its ancient customs and traditions—military and otherwise. The natural instinct for soldiering, bred in them from prehistoric generations, is as strong as ever, and, besides holding them together like a Clan, gives them an unshakeable determination to defend their country and consequent willingness to serve in the forces of their 'Chieftain' —H.M. The Queen.

The events of the eighteenth century, which appeared only as grievous misfortunes at the time, by breaking down the ancient, and perhaps rather narrow, Clan system, eventually broadened their outlook so much that their loyalty extended first to the whole of Scotland, then to Great Britain and the Dominions where many made their homes, and finally to the whole Commonwealth. The result has been to produce a powerful element of loyal citizens and soldiers —the more valuable as colonists because Scotland, being a country where the climate is hard and there is no easy living to be made, gave them the excellent qualities of toughness, industry and thrift, developed to an unusual degree. Add to these the national pride of the Scot, who scorns to bring discredit on himself, on the family, or on the regiment, and you have soldiers of the first quality in the world.

An attempt has been made to weave together brief histories of all the Scottish regiments, like the lines in a tartan sett, but such a wealth of material is provided by their war service, dating from the seventeenth century, that the hardest task has been the selection of the items to be included. It must, therefore, be realized that every battle or incident described has had to be picked out from a massive background of similar happenings. Apologies are due to those kind helpers who may see only small portions of the material they collected, often with much hard work, included in the narrow confines of this book.

The story has been told as simply as possible, without sentimental

heroics, not filled with eulogistic speeches of Generals, nor with catalogues of facts and figures, nor even rolls of those who won decorations. On the last point, there is something in the view held by some of the Highland regiments when the V.C. was inaugurated. (*See* Chapter VIII.)

The author is deeply indebted to all those who gave such valuable help, without which the task could not have been completed, and wishes to renew his sincere thanks to—Various departments of the War Office; The Hon. Brooke Claxton, D.C.M., Q.C., M.P., Minister of National Defence, Canada, for permitting the staff of the Department of Defence, Army (Historical Section), Ottawa, to give much important information; the Military History Section, Army Headquarters, Melbourne; Lt.-Gen. C. L. de W. Du Toit, D.S.O., Chief of the General Staff, Union Defence Forces, South Africa, for permitting the staff of Military Archives to assist; the Lord Lyon King of Arms, Edinburgh., Major R. T. Familton, New Zealand Scottish; the Commanding Officers of many Scottish regiments; Major T. J. Edwards, M.B.E., F.R.Hist.S. and Mr. Thomas Gilby, for permission to use material from their books; Capt. J. M. Gow, Scots Guards; Col. D. English, South African Medical Corps; Capt. Viall, Pretoria Highlanders; and to Brig. J. Macready, Col. P. P. Hutchison, E.D., Q.C., BW of Canada, and Major H. P. E. Pereira, E.R.D., F.S.A. (Scot.) F.M.A.

Very special thanks are due to Mr. Joseph N. Corcoran, Mr. Leslie Whitford, of Toronto, who gave most generous and untiring help over a long period and collected information about the Canadian Scottish regiments which is worthy of a large volume to itself. At the same time the author would like to thank many serving and retired officers and others in Canada, for the valuable assistance they gave to Mr. Whitford. Dr. H. H. Curson, F.R.C.V.S., of Pretoria, Mr. A. W. F. Burton, I.S.O., of Blackheath, New South Wales, and Major D. S. Augustus, Transvaal Scottish, all of whom did a great deal of work to provide material concerning the Scottish regiments of their own countries. Much help was obtained from the Scottish United Services Museum, the Royal United Services Institute, the War Office Library, and from regimental museums.

THE SCOTTISH REGIMENTS OF BRITAIN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

CHAPTER I · 1625-89

THE LOWLAND REGIMENTS.
KILLIECRANKIE. DUNKELD

The early history of the Scots, scanty though it is, makes it clear that fighting formed one of their main interests in life—in fact that it was as much a part of it as football is to-day. In the Highlands there were always Clan and family feuds, many of which went on for generations and provided the local interest, while more important contests frequently occurred between armies composed of a number of Clans, taking sides in a major quarrel, or out to install a new king, or get rid of an old one.

The Clan system, which appears to have become established in about the fourteenth century, cannot be discussed here, but its military organization is of great interest. Each Clan formed a regiment (in some cases two or three) with an establishment similar to that in use in European armies, except that all the ranks and appointments depended on position in the Clan. This is not so strange if one realizes that, in the event of mobilization the Clan was the regiment, and the only civilians were women and children, cripples and grandfathers. Nevertheless it did place seniority before efficiency.

The Chief was the Colonel, his eldest son the Lieut.-Colonel, second son a major, and so on. Heads of large families were Captains. The office of Standard-bearer was usually hereditary, and each family stood together in the ranks, the best armed being in the front.

Mobilization was effected by means of relay runners sent out by the Chief, each bearing a burning cross with bloodstained cloth attached and shouting the Clan slogan as he ran. The hill population was naturally very scattered and long distances had to be covered by the runners, but every man, on receiving the order would set off at once to the assembly ground, and in a very short time the Clan could be on the march.

This is the background against which the earliest Scottish regiments were raised; a picture which makes it easier to understand why soldiering is in the blood of the Scots.

But Scots, like other people, needed to live, and most of their

hill-land was poor. Military expeditions were expected to provide cattle and loot from hostile Clans, and from the Lowlands, or, for the Lowlanders, from the English border. Unfortunately this did not always come up to expectations, so many men joined foreign armies and served in France, Sweden, Germany, etc. But the Scot loved his native mountains, however poor the land, and always hoped to return after his foreign service. He never thought of losing his nationality, and, whenever it was possible, those serving in foreign armies kept together and formed Scottish units.

From the 'soldier of fortune' began the history of the Scottish regiments in the British Army and it is very appropriate that the oldest regiment of all, the 1st Foot, is Scottish—the ROYAL SCOTS, the ROYAL REGIMENT. This ancient and distinguished regiment can (dimly it must be said) trace its ancestry back as far as 1421—six years after Agincourt, when the Scots first became permanently established in the service of France, this being only one aspect of a long intercourse between the two countries, evidence of which is still quite plentiful in the architecture, the slang, and the legal phraseology of modern Scotland.

Its origin was in conformity with the natural predilections of the Scots at that period which have just been mentioned and in its early years its members were quite definitely 'mercenaries'. Records are scarce regarding the early period of their French service, but it has been established that among their forerunners were the GARDE ÉCOSSAIS, the GENDARMES ÉCOSSAIS, the SCOTTISH ARCHER GUARD whose pedigree was held to have originated in the crusades, and other corps which eventually became absorbed into the same regiment.

From 1625 the direct pedigree really begins, as in that year John Hepburn, a cadet of the Hepburns of Athelstaneford raised the original company, which soon grew into a regiment, for service with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Hepburn is referred to as 'the Father of the Regiment' and was an officer of outstanding ability and courage, who quickly distinguished himself and earned a Knighthood from Gustavus at the age of thirty-one. He soon became the commander of all the Scots units in Swedish service, which included MACKAY'S HIGHLANDERS, STARGATE'S CORPS and LUMSDEN'S MUSKETEERS. This group of units became known as the 'GREEN BRIGADE', and in 1632, when reduced by casualties, all of them plus some of the French Scottish units, with a total strength of about 8,000 were amalgamated, to form 'LE REGIMENT D'HEBRON' (corruption of Hepburn), serving now with the French. Unfortunately there is not space to describe the interesting and highly successful and colourful career of Sir John Hepburn. His service and that of his Scots with the Swedes and the French must be left for the reader

to study elsewhere. One small point of interest, however, is that Hepburn appears to have taught Gustavus the system of platoon volley-firing by the odd numbers, while the even numbers re-loaded, and vice versa. This important, though commonsense arrangement was said to have come to the British Army as a result of studying Gustavus's methods.

Another instance in which Gustavus's example was followed was the invention of made-up cartridges, which replaced the small bottle-like receptacles which hung on cords from the cross-belt, each holding a measured charge of powder. The battalion establishment of a thousand men, and the brigade organization of four battalions originated from the same source.

In 1633, as the result of an agreement between Charles I and Louis XIII, the privy Council of Scotland, by warrant dated 24th April at Edinburgh and given under the King's authority at Whitehall on 25th March, commissioned Hepburn to raise 1,200 men in Scotland. This definitely establishes the regiment as a British one and further dates it as the regiment with the longest Royal sanction in the British Army. From that time it led a somewhat unorthodox existence, being apparently 'on loan' to the King of France.

Hepburn was killed at the siege of Saverne (Zabern), 1636, and the final memory of him is a rather pathetic one. He died thinking of his home in Scotland, and before he could enjoy the honour which had just been bestowed upon him—an appointment as Marshal of France. His baton was sent just in time to be placed on his coffin.

After his death the regiment became known as LE REGIMENT DE DOUGLAS or DOUGLAS ÉCOSSAIS, and in 1678, it was known as DUMBARTON'S (Lord George Douglas having become Earl of Dumbarton in 1675). This name is perpetuated in one of the regimental marches—'Dumbarton's Drums', identified by some authorities with the 'Scots March', which Hepburn's drummers beat at Leipzig, in 1631, to rally the regiment when confused fighting was going on in dust so dense that friends and enemies could not be distinguished. The music of the pipes—so essential a feature of the Scottish war-scene through the ages, is not mentioned on this occasion, but there is evidence that there were at one time thirty-six pipers with MACKAY'S HIGHLANDERS, only one of whom survived to join HEPBURN'S REGIMENT. This instrument, whose origin dates back before the days of Greek Mythology, has close relations in the mountains of Spain, Italy, Bulgaria, Turkey, Asia Minor, The Caucasus, Persia and India. In most of those countries it provides peaceful and soothing music, with which shepherds while away the hours on mountain tops. But in Scotland it is different. There it was developed to produce thrilling martial music to raise the spirits of

soldiers for battle, so that it has played a most important part in Scottish military tradition. This fact was fully realized by the Duke of Cumberland and, after his experience in the 1745 rebellion, he ordered the pipes to be banned, as being 'an instrument of war'.

Music has always been a part of Army life, and every regiment, during its service in various parts of the world, has adopted a number of tunes—frivolous, patriotic, even religious (and some with bawdy words to sing on the march), to be used as regimental marches or to be played habitually on certain occasions. Thus regimental music has become as much a tradition as the regimental distinctions of dress.

In Scottish regiments the characteristic national music of the pipes has naturally predominated, and though it has been supposed that in early times 'drum marches' were performed by the drummers alone, in actual fact these were rarely unaccompanied by the pipes. One of these 'Scots Military Marches' is worthy of note. During the revolutionary period of 1688, 'King James's March to Ireland', based on a ballad air—'Lord Ronald My Son'—became very popular. Now known as 'Lochaber No More', it is used as the 'Lights Out' of the ROYAL SCOTS.

The earliest recorded Pipe-Major, who was then regarded as an officer, and whose name was included in the 'bounty roll' of 1704 was Alexander Wallace, Pipe-Major of DUMBARTON's (RS) in 1679. His successor, Adriel Duron, appeared in the Staff column, as did the Drum-Major.

It was during its service in France that DOUGLAS's came by the peculiar and interesting nickname which still clings to its successors. This originated in an argument between officers of DOUGLAS ÉCOSSAIS and the PICARDY REGIMENT, between which there was considerable jealousy, as the latter was raised in 1562, but Douglas's has been given precedence. The Picardy officers said that they were direct descendants of the legion which was on duty in Jerusalem on the night of the Crucifixion. Their confrères of Douglas's quickly replied that had they themselves been on duty at the sepulchre, 'the holy body had never left it', by such profanity implying that they would not have slept at their posts as the Régiment de Picardy apparently did. Ever since then their unofficial name has been 'Pontius Pilate's Bodyguard'.

The next Scottish regiment in order of antiquity, after the ROYAL SCOTS, is the SCOTS GUARDS, which was raised by the Marquis of Argyll in 1639 to serve under the Scottish Privy Council and enforce the 'Covenant' in the Highlands.

The 'Covenanters', who resembled the Puritans in England, in their intolerance of those with other religious views, were the dominant party in Scotland. Charles I, in his search for aid against

his own unruly parliament, tried his luck in his own country by propitiating this powerful body. When the Irish Rebellion broke out in 1641 the situation was that, owing to Parliament's apprehension of having an army which might be used by the King contrary to their interests, there were actually no troops at all to send there. It was in these circumstances that ARGYLL'S REGIMENT was ordered by letters patent from the King (the Stuarts were, of course, Kings of England and Scotland, though there was then no 'Union') to proceed, 1,500 strong, to that storm centre across St. George's channel. There they were to 'chastise those wicked and detestable rebels, odious to God and all good men.'

This was a campaign of barbarism and hardship—prisoners were usually shot, pay-days were almost non-existent and rations went down to a pound of meal a day, which resulted in constant looting of Irish cattle on a big scale 'to refresh the decayed bodies and fainting spirits of the sojers', thus adding to the distress and bitterness in the country.

The regiment was ordered back to Scotland in 1645, to fight under General Baillie against Montrose, the Royalist leader in that country, but in 1646, after Charles's surrender to the Scottish army at Southwell, it was sent to Carrickfergus and remained in Ulster until 1649. Its strength, by then, had dwindled to about 400 and these survivors were formed into the IRISH COMPANIES, under Lieut-Col. James Wallace of Auchans.

While the regiment was in Ireland the Roundheads had triumphed and, in cold-blooded revenge, committed the fatal blunder of executing their King. Within a week Charles II was proclaimed in Edinburgh as King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and in 1650 the IRISH COMPANIES became HIS MAJESTIE'S FOOTTE REGIMENT OF HIS LYFFE GUARDS (SG) commanded by Argyll's son, Lord Lorne.

In this period of confusion and anarchy ARGYLL'S REGIMENT had fought for Charles I against the Irish, then against his supporters in Scotland, then it became Charles II's bodyguard and next it was in action at DUNBAR, 1650, against Cromwell (in whose army was MONCK'S REGIMENT, later the Coldstream Guards). There Leslie's force was routed and SG were among the few who stood firm, and were nearly annihilated. Leslie's defeat was said to have been largely due to a 'purge' by the Commissioners of the Kirk, carried out as it might have been by Hitler or Stalin. They removed between 3,000 and 4,000 officers and men for not being of the true faith, thus squandering the services of many men of considerable military experience and ability, and seriously reducing the numbers on parade.

Once again the regiment was nearly wiped out in Charles II's

disastrous expedition which ended with the BATTLE OF WORCESTER, 1651, and for the following nine years it remained in a state of 'suspended animation'.

In 1660 came the RESTORATION of the English Monarchy, with great rejoicings and a considerable amount of debauchery. For the English it was the end of a period of smug, drab-coloured tyranny, and for the Scots, their Stuart King was back in his rightful place and that seemed to them a matter of great satisfaction.

That year saw the birth of the present Regular Army, which took some years to grow from infancy to manhood and at first consisted only of the LIFE GUARDS, the ROYAL REGIMENT OF GUARDS (the Grenadiers), and MONCK'S REGIMENT (the Coldstream), the last being reconstituted as a regiment of Guards, after having served in the Parliamentary army.

At first Scotland's only representative unit was the SCOTTISH TROOP OF LIFE GUARDS (also called Horse Guards), raised in Scotland in 1661. It was commanded by the Earl of Newburgh and had a strength of 135 of all ranks, nearly all of whom had been officers in the Royalist Army.

This Troop was, in effect, a partial revival of a regiment of Horse Guards raised about 1651, by Charles II, when King of Scotland, to serve as his bodyguard, and the Earl of Newburgh was then a Captain. It took part in Charles's unsuccessful attempt to defeat Cromwell, which resulted in his becoming a fugitive after the battle of WORCESTER, 1651. The regiment was very severely dealt with by the Roundheads ('New Model Army') in this battle, and subsequently, when Charles had provided the origin of the thousands of 'Royal Oaks' with which England is now infested and made his way overseas, there was no longer a body for it to guard.

The troop raised in 1661 served in Scotland until 1707, when it was quartered in London as part of the King's household. (Two other Troops were raised and disbanded in Scotland between 1661 and 1676.)

There was also a Troop of SCOTTISH HORSE GRENADIER GUARDS raised in Edinburgh in 1700 and both continued as Scottish units until 1788 when, under a reorganization of the HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY they were disbanded.

The 1st and 2nd LIFE GUARDS were then formed and remained in existence until 1922, when they were amalgamated to form THE LIFE GUARDS. The 1st was originally formed from the English Troops and most of the personnel of the Scottish Troops went into the 2nd, which long maintained a Scottish tradition and remained largely composed of Scotsmen.

In 1661 the SCOTS GUARDS came back to life, but almost their only link with pre-Worcester days was the renewed service of three

officers—Sir James Turner, Colonel William Urrie, and Lieut.-Col. Borthwick, who had served in the IRISH COMPANIES.

In 1661 two companies of Guards were raised to garrison Edinburgh and Dunbarton Castles and in 1662 four companies were added to form a regiment consisting of 'His Majestie's Own Company' and five others. This regiment has been in continuous existence up to the present day. In 1685, now styled OUR SCOTCH GUARDS, it was ordered south on account of Monmouth's rebellion, but the order was cancelled owing to his defeat at Sedgemoor. It actually moved from Scotland to Hounslow in 1686 from which date its service in the present British Army really begins.

At this time the regiment consisted of fourteen companies, seven remaining in Scotland, an arrangement which was the beginning of the two-battalion system. Major-General Sir F. Maurice, in his *History of the Scots Guards*, gives some interesting details of the organization of the battalion at that date. There was a Grenadier Company, and in each of the other companies there were twenty pikemen and sixty musketeers, and with the improved muskets and bayonets the normal formation of the musketeers on parade was changed from six ranks to three. At the same time the Brigade of Guards came into existence, the Scots, nicknamed THE KIDDIES, being brigaded with the 1st or ROYAL REGIMENT OF GUARDS, and the 2nd or COLDSTREAM GUARDS.

DOUGLAS'S REGIMENT (RS) was 'restored' by Louis XIV to Charles II in 1662, but owing to the English Parliament's fear and rabid suspicion (which remained with it for centuries) of building up a 'standing army', they were sent back to France until the Dutch war of 1665. England was then at war with France as well as with Holland, yet there seems to have been little difficulty in getting permission for this well-trained and equipped regiment to return across the channel. 'Totality' in war had not yet approached the standards of the twentieth century!

To give a just impression of the history of a regiment any 'black record' should not be hidden away, but must be on view with the rest, and according to the famous diarist, Pepys, Douglas's did make a 'black' in 1667! This was in one of those low and discreditable periods which England experiences now and then, and the Dutch, having sailed right up the Thames estuary, actually landed for a short time at Gillingham. They did no harm to the civilians and there was no looting, which might have been expected from an enemy in those days. But 'my Lord Douglas's men', in addition to having made a poor defence with some English troops who did no better, behaved worse than the enemy, when they had gone, and took everything they could carry away. Apparently their 'mercenary' habits had become second nature!

PLATE II

1660
The Scottish Troop of Life Guards
Officer.

PLATE II

After this regrettable episode the regiment served again under the French king and it was not until 1681 that it was finally and permanently placed on the British establishment, and three years later it became the ROYAL REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Apart from regular Scottish units, there was on the Scottish establishment (Scotland being a separate kingdom until 1707) quite a number of regiments, which existed for only a few years. Among them were DALYELL'S, LOCKHART'S, MONRO'S, LORD JAMES DOUGLAS'S, WAUCHOPE'S, DRUMMOND'S HORSE, and several others including Militia units and garrison companies. These last were raised to replace Cromwell's occupation troops, under his much-disliked Major-Generals—a statesmanlike move of Charles II, very soon after his accession.

The English army of the 1660's was little more than a Sovereign's household—enough mounted and dismounted troops to carry out guard and escort duties and provide a display on State occasions. The fact that the ROYAL HORSE GUARDS and the COLDSTREAM GUARDS had served in the parliamentary army was decidedly an asset, as they carried on the system of Cromwell's 'New Model Army', raised in 1645, which is admitted to have been the prototype of the regular army. It was the first English force which was uniformed, properly disciplined, organized and administered, and regularly paid, and the test of battle soon proved the value of giving attention to these matters, when it confronted the more casually organized Royalists.

In the late seventeenth century the principal weapons in use were the pike and the sword (weapons of antiquity), the mousquet or musket, hand-grenades, and artillery. The cavalry lance and most of the component parts of body armour had gone with the Civil War, but Horse regiments and pikemen still wore the cuirass, more familiarly known as the 'shell', and the latter the 'pot' or steel helmet. Iron 'skulls' were worn sewn inside the broad-brimmed hats of the period and saved many a head from a sword-cut which would have shorn through the normal skull. The gorget or throat-piece survived in miniature form, as a sort of ornamental duty badge for officers, until 1830.

The outstanding feature of the time was, of course, the improvement which was taking place in fire-arms generally and was causing the disappearance of armour. As proof of this, between 1600 and 1670 the proportion of musketeers in a battalion increased from about one-fourth to five-sixths of the strength.

The match-lock musket, known as the harquebus or culliver (corruption of calibre) and used in the Civil War, was fired by means of a smouldering 'match' in the form of a cord, which was gripped in the jaws of the hammer and was thrown, when the trigger was pressed, onto the priming pan. Here it came in contact with the

priming, which took fire and set off, via the touch-hole, the charge in the barrel. A ponderous explosion followed and expelled a home-made missile (the men made their own bullets) which travelled only more or less along the line of sight and *might* be directed so as to hit someone up to a range of fifty or sixty yards. An immense cloud of foul smoke then hid the scene for some considerable time. The weapon was too heavy to be fired without a rest, which had to be carried by the musketeer, and in heavy rain it could not be fired at all, as the 'match' went out. At night the glow and the sparks would give away the movements of an assault party, unless they relied on the sword only. Every man, mounted or dismounted, had a sword, and when the bayonet came in (a French invention, named after Bayonne and adopted in 1662), the infantryman and the Dragoon had to carry both. The 'match' had a further disadvantage when used by infantry escorting guns or posted near them, as sparks from it quite often caused the gunners' powder barrels, standing open beside the guns, to explode.

Up to this point the long-bow was probably a better weapon, but from about 1675 the old match-locks were gradually replaced by improved weapons with wheel-locks or flint-locks which, though somewhat reduced in size were still very long and cumbersome and weighed about 15 lb. The most aristocratic, handy, and expensively constructed musket was the fusil or fusee—another French product, which was carried by officers of infantry and artillery. It was also issued to special troops known as 'Fuzileers', the EARL OF MAR'S REGIMENT (RSF) being the Scottish exponents, whose duty was to act as permanent gun escorts and to keep strict supervision over the undisciplined civilian drivers, who were inclined to think that 'discretion was the better part' at the most awkward moments.

There was no really important change in the musket, for general issue, from this period until the introduction of percussion caps in 1839, though, as will be mentioned, rifles were issued to certain troops some time before that date.

The only other small-arm was the 'Horse' pistol, which in its way was as clumsy as the harquebus, though it did have a flintlock. After discharging, it was often thrown in the face of an enemy—this being perhaps an unexpected gesture, and the pistol being useless for any other purpose until a halt could be made for the laborious process of reloading.

The 'grenado' or grenade (probably derived from Italian granato—a pomegranate, as it resembled one in being about the same size and having a kind of bottleneck for the fuse which corresponded with the protruding end of the fruit) came into use in the British army about 1678, and special men were trained to use it. After this, Grenadier companies were formed and became the picked 'storm

troops' of each regiment. They were given a distinctive cap, and were the only company which had musket slings. They carried three grenades in addition to the ordinary weapons, and a hatchet for chopping down the enemy's palisades. They marched at the head of the regiment and—what was in some ways a disadvantage—this company contained all the smartest and the tallest men. There were also troops of HORSE GRENADIERS which included a Scottish one belonging to the Life Guards.

Artillery, in its early days (beginning in the fourteenth century), had not been expected to do serious damage, owing to its extreme inaccuracy, and was used mainly for the moral effect of its noise, flame and smoke. There were even recipes for causing a gun to make more than a usual amount of noise! At the Restoration period it was, like small-arms, improving considerably and various types of weapons were becoming specialized under such names as culverins, demi-culverins, minyons, sakers, faulconets, etc., each denoting a gun of certain weight and calibre. The light or field guns were usually placed under command of the infantry colonels, and there were heavy siege guns for which there was a well-developed technique of constructing batteries.

The senior of the 'arms' was the 'Horse' or heavy cavalry, whose purpose was shock action—a charge by which the kinetic energy generated by a mass of large men on heavy horses at full gallop would smash through a body of enemy and their long swords would complete the job. The General had to judge the right moment for success, and must keep his 'Horse' ready to take advantage of it and not squander them on less important duties.

Dragoons, though they later developed into heavy cavalry and still later on, into light cavalry (excepting the ROYALS, GREYS and INNISKILLINGS) were at this period mounted infantry and were supposed to fight on foot using their horses mainly for mobility. They were armed with musket, sword, bayonet and pistols, and their rôle was in some ways like that of the modern Carrier Platoon.

The Infantry then, as now, was the deciding factor in battle. They formed the main body of any army and the Horse, Dragoons and Artillery existed in order to help them win. The strength of the battalions and companies and the number of the latter in a battalion seem to have varied widely, but the usual formation was in three 'divisions'—the centre one composed of pikemen, and the 'shot' or musketeers on the flanks. The guns were often posted in pairs in the intervals between battalions. The pikes were sixteen feet long with steel spear-heads and the pikemen stood in four or six ranks, and with the butts of the pike-staves held into the ground, they presented a formidable 'hedgehog' front against a cavalry charge;

but pikes were not only defensive weapons and were used with equal effect in forcing back enemy troops.

The main features of the dress of the army, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, were a knee-length coat, breeches, which in the case of the infantry, were very baggy, and the broad-brimmed flat-crowned hat. Infantry wore stockings and buckled shoes and mounted men loose soft-leather riding boots. All leather equipment was buff in colour. Most regiments were dressed in red, some in 'Hodden' grey and one or two in blue, and the pikemen and drummers wore coats of the colour of the regimental linings or 'facings'. (Many regiments at this time had red facings or none at all.)

However, no one could say that, at this stage, there was any real uniformity, and Commanding Officers, who had the duty of providing the uniforms, more or less pleased themselves.

Colours were borne by every troop and company, each with its own 'difference' mark, in addition to those of the Colonel, the Lieut.-Colonel, the Majors, and the Sergeant-Major.

The army, now composed of English and Scots serving together, though still a miniature one, was beginning to take shape. But so far it had no tradition as the British Army. Many officers and men had had experience of war in Scotland, Ireland or Holland, or in fighting at home in the Civil War. But their experience was of temporary armies, fighting for politics or religion, revenge, loot, or other reasons, not as a permanent national army. Doubtless there was the man who bored people with his tales of 'when I was at Dunbar', etc., and the studious one who discovered how his regiment had handled certain problems when it was with Gustavus, or Louis, but this was only the beginning of tradition.

Probably most people had some vague knowledge of the manner in which small and often ill-fed and ill-equipped English forces had torn the stuffing out of the enormous mail-clad armies of France, at Crécy, Agincourt and other great battles, but these were now far back in history and their lustre had dimmed. Nevertheless the legacy of those great events was the feeling, perhaps only subconsciously connected with them, that a British soldier had nothing to fear from foreigners; even with the odds against him.

So heredity was good and material was good in both nations and it was up to the officers, and future generations of them, to build up discipline—the force which keeps men holding on when hope has gone; tradition which gives a man pride and a standard to live up to; and to develop the native qualities of their men in the right way. In this they did not fail. Their average military instincts and ability (anyhow at regimental level) were of the first order and, being combined with moderation and human sympathy, were superior to the soulless militarism of the Prussian types. They gradually created

the great organization we know, in which each man, while realizing how small a part he plays and having a fellow-feeling with all the rest, may jeer at some of its methods, but inwardly has absolute confidence that, wherever it goes, whatever reverses it may suffer, nothing can break it. Like the symbolic bulldog it is slow to begin a fight, but if an enemy does so, it will get a grip and never let go until it has accomplished its purpose.

New regiments were added quite frequently during the second half of the seventeenth century, and in 1678 came the next senior Scottish regiment—the EARL OF MAR'S GREYBREEKS (RSF) named, obviously, from the colour of its nether garments. It became a 'Fuzileer' regiment in 1685 and its 'rank' or number of seniority—21—was granted in 1688. (In 1954, the Colonel of the regiment asked for its number to be changed to the 4th, which he claimed was its rightful seniority, but apparently his request was considered to have come a little late—in fact 266 years late, and a further objection was that a number of other regiments would be affected if a change were made.)

The year after it was raised, Mar's Regiment was in action, with the SCOTS GUARDS, at BOTHWELL BRIG, on the Clyde. Here again the confusion of this era is evident, and illustrates the pugnacious nature of the Scots. There was always some party or sect in a state of open rebellion against the Government, and in this case it was the Covenanters who were on the other side. They had murdered the Primate of Scotland, made a disturbance at RUTHERGLEN, defeated a Troop of Dragoons under Claverhouse, and made a demonstration against Glasgow. The Duke of Monmouth was in command of Government forces and to quote Crichton's memoirs[1]—the officers first protested against 'the absurd and preposterous resolution of the Duke to make a direct attack on the well-guarded and barricaded bridge, rather than follow their advice, which was to ford the river and attack the main body of the rebels. When the Duke came near the bridge, the rebels beat a parley and sent over a Laird accompanied by a Kirk preacher. . . .While this parley lasted the field-pieces were brought down and planted over against the bridge without being perceived by the rebels. The messengers reported that they would not lay down their arms unless their conditions were granted them; whereupon the Dragoons and musketeers fired all at once upon those who guarded the bridge, and the field-pieces played so warmly that some hundreds of rebels were slain. The Duke, after misusing the flag of truce 'as soon as he had commanded to fire, retired into a hollow from the enemies' shot . . . continued there until the action was over.'

There does not appear to have been any outstanding military

[1] Crichton later held a commission in the Royal Regiment of SCOTS DRAGOONS (GREYS).

skill on either side, but the result was that about 3,000 rebels were put to flight by a very much smaller force. There is a good picture by W. G. Cumming of the SCOTS GUARDS fighting their way across the bridge, which includes a not very obvious, but distinctly humorous incident—a young officer using his broadsword to prick the seat of a hesitant musketeer!

Crichton's memoirs gives a graphic account of some hand-to-hand fighting during the pursuit after the bridge was crossed. He was in command of thirty horse and fifty Dragoons and overtook some rebels a few miles on, personally encountering Captain Fowler, who commanded the rebels. 'I gave him such a blow over the head with my broadsword as would have cleaved his skull had it not been defended by a steel cap. Fowler, turning about, aimed a blow at me but I warded it off, and with a back stroke cut the upper part of his head clean off from the nose upwards.'

Running down a dozen rebels who were hacking and hewing at one of his men whose horse was bogged, Crichton managed to save his trooper's life, only to be set upon himself, when his own horse became mired. 'When they had me at their advantage they began to show their courage and manfully dealt their blows with their broadswords from some of which the carbine that hung down my back defended me a little. . . . One of the rebels ran me through the small of the back with his broadsword and at the same instant two more wounded me under the ribs with their small ones. Then I threw myself over the head of my horse, taking the far pistol out of the holdster in my left hand and holding my broadsword in my right; and as one of the rebels was coming hastily up to me his foot slipped and before he could recover himself I struck my sword into his skull, but the fellow being big and heavy, snapped it asunder as he fell, within a span of the hilt. The rebels had me now at a great advantage. One of them made a stroke at me which I guarded off with the hilt of the sword that was left in my hand, but the force with which he struck the blow—and I kept it off—brought us both to the ground. However, I got up before him, clapped my pistol to his side and shot him dead. As soon as this was done another came behind and with some weapon or other, struck me such a blow on the head as laid me flat on my back, in which posture I remained a good while insensible. The rogues, taking it for granted that I was dead, scoured off.

A little recovering my senses, I strove to lift my head which one of the rogues happening to see at some distance, immediately returned and said in my hearing—"God, the dog is not dead yet." Then coming up to me, took his sword, and putting its hilt to his breast and guiding it with both his hands, made a thrust at my belly; but my senses were now so far recovered that I parried the thrust with

the piece of the sword that remained still in my hand. The fellow, when he missed his aim almost fell on his face, for the sword ran up to the hilt in the moss; and as he was recovering himself, I gave him a dab in the mouth with my broken sword which very much hurt him, but he aiming a second thrust which I had likewise the good fortune to put by, and having as before given him another dab in the mouth, he immediately went off for fear of the pursuers, whereof many were now returning.'

Crichton then got up and managed to limp away, using his carbine as a crutch. War was never a pretty thing, although it was to some extent camouflaged by the colours and uniforms, the music and the ceremonial. This extract has been included verbatim as it so vividly describes the mud and blood side of it, which some writers are apt to keep so much in the background that it is not properly realized. (Its picturesque value is not affected by the fact that Crichton appears to be regarded as a liar by his own regiment!)

The earliest battle honour granted to be placed on the Colours of any of the regiments was 'TANGIER, 1680,' which is common to the GRENADIER GUARDS, the COLDSTREAM GUARDS, the ROYAL DRAGOONS, the ROYAL SCOTS, and the QUEEN'S. Tangier had come to Charles II as part of the dowry of his wife Catherine of Braganza, and was mainly useful as a base for the Royal Navy from which to send out anti-pirate patrols and punitive forces, as this form of activity was very profitable and was rampant in the Mediterranean and the adjacent parts of the Atlantic. When it was besieged by the Moors, the Governor—Sir Palmer Fairborne, sent a special request that the 'Scotch Companies' might be despatched to reinforce his garrison, and sixteen companies of DUMBARTON'S REGIMENT (RS) (presumably two battalions) were sent and took part in some bloody fighting, which ended with the Moors asking for 'terms'. They acquitted themselves well in their first African service and were rewarded by being granted the title of THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Six years later is the date of the earliest of their regimental records —the Muster Rolls of 1686, which throw an interesting sidelight on methods, which in those days do not seem to have caused anyone even to think of a Court Martial! Among the interesting facts they disclose, Lord George Hamilton was a Captain at the age of eighteen, and the Earl of Dumbarton's son, George, was on the pay-roll at six months. Company commanders used to add to their meagre pay by carrying false names of 'other ranks' on their company rolls and drawing pay for them!

In 1681 the next Scottish regiment came onto the scene—the ROYAL REGIMENT OF SCOTS DRAGOONS (Greys). The first remarkable point about them is that they began life as a 'Royal' regiment, but

it will be seen as the years went by, how fully justified it was. The regiment was formed by the addition of three new troops, to three existing ones which had been raised in 1678, the normal establishment of a dragoon regiment being six troops each with an officer, a quartermaster, two sergeants, three corporals, two hautboys, two drummers, and fifty dragoons. Their weapons were muskets with slings and buckets (in front of the saddle, the barrel under the man's right arm), broadswords, bayonets, Horse pistols (two), and Lawson mentions grenade pouches and hatchets, presumably for a troop of Horse Grenadiers.

The original three troops had been raised to deal with disturbances and insurrections in Scotland, which at that time seems to have been even more turbulent than usual. Under 'the bloody Claverhouse' (Graham of Claverhouse, Marquis of Dundee) they had earned a sinister reputation for brutality in dealing with offenders. Their first Commanding Officer, when the regiment was formed, was Lieut.-General Thomas Dalyell—a veteran of the same ilk. From Crichton's account of him, he was a crude and uncompromising type with a white beard reaching nearly to his waist, a bald head with no peruke, crowned by an eccentrically-shaped beaver hat, and wearing a small tight coat and no riding-boots. When Monmouth was sent by the King to be C.-in-C., Dalyell refused to serve under him and simply stayed in his billet until the former was superseded.

The regiment then wore grey coats and steel helmets, and grey horses appear to have been first mentioned in 1694, at a review in Hyde Park. They are supposed to have been transferred from William III's Dutch Life Guards, when these returned to Holland, after which the Scots Dragoons were referred to as 'the Scots Regiment of White Horses', and 'The Grey Dragoons'. For some time they continued their sadistic occupation of rebel-hunting, and in 1694 they were sent to Flanders. It was a few years later, under Marlborough, that they began to make history.

The next senior regiment, raised in 1689, the EARL OF LEVEN'S REGIMENT (KOSB), was formed in Edinburgh, the year after William III and Mary came to the throne of England. There was much disagreement about their accession and in some regiments officers and men refused to serve under them, an occurrence which was the origin of the Mutiny Act. Opposition was particularly strong among the Highlanders, and in Edinburgh feeling was running high, as a Highland inroad was expected, and in these circumstances there was a rush of recruits which produced 1,000 men within two hours. These were hastily organized and took possession of the Parliament House, where they remained until William and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland.

The explanation of this keenness to serve lies in the very different

outlooks of the Highlanders and the Lowlanders, which arose from the lives their ancestors had led through the dim centuries of prehistoric times. The fundamental points of difference were extremely simple—the Highlander, as has been mentioned, could not subsist entirely on his poor hill-land and so looked upon the Lowlanders as fair game for raiding and looting. The Lowlander, with his comparatively fertile land was satisfactorily occupied in cultivating it and so was far less inclined to leave it and go on warlike expeditions. On the other hand, against the Highlanders, whom he regarded as the scourge of God, he was grimly determined to defend his family and home and his life's work to the very last.

These inborn characteristics were naturally inherited by Scottish soldiers and, no doubt, play their part even now. It has been proved on countless occasions that the Highlanders are at the top of their form in the attack. Their irresistible dash in the charge has become known throughout the world and, at various times, has chilled the hearts of enemies of every race and colour. In these early times, when loyalty was limited to the Clan, or even to the family, raids were made on a business footing, and if casualties were heavy and the prospect of loot was diminishing, it was sound policy to withdraw into the hills and await a more promising opportunity. This accounts for the 'melting away' of Highland armies after being defeated or failing to gain an objective. But later, as regular regiments in the British Army, these perfectly logical tactics became a thing of the past, and they learned to take repulses and retreats, which were frequent in the history of our small army, with a stoicism second to none.

The Lowlanders, as might be expected, excelled in dogged defence from which there could be no retreat. Excellent contemporary examples of these qualities were the charge of the Highlanders at Killiecrankie, and the defence of Dunkeld (very shortly afterwards) by the Lowlanders, both of which will be mentioned in this chapter.

The CAMERONIANS were the last of the six original Lowland regiments to be raised, also in 1689. Their origin is interesting and quite extraordinary, and they are unique in being the only regiment to be named after a religious reformer. Their original organization was religious as well as military, as the officers were selected partly for their suitability to inspire respect in men of the Presbyterian faith, an Elder was appointed to each company, and every man carried a Bible in his kit.

It is necessary to go back into history a little to explain how this came about. In the seventeenth century religious fervour and faction played an important part in Scottish life, the most austere and militant section being known as the 'Covenanters'. These were men

and women who stood for the principles laid down by the National Covenant of 1638, which was designed to prevent any encroachment on the Presbyterian faith. This did not find much favour with the Stuart kings, but it was not until the accession of Charles II, in 1660, that real trouble arose.

From that date the Covenanters had to hold their meetings secretly, as Charles had more or less outlawed the Presbyterians by attempting to impose Episcopacy on the whole of Scotland.

One of the most notable leaders of the Covenanters was a young man—Richard Cameron, who became a licenced preacher and spent several years in Holland among the exiled Presbyterians. During his absence many of his followers organized and armed themselves, and actually won a fight against government forces at Drumclog, but were hopelessly beaten at Bothwell Brig. In spite of this when Cameron returned to Scotland he gathered his followers and had the temerity to declare war on Charles. The obvious happened and he was defeated at Airds Moss in Ayrshire where he was killed in 1680. His head and hands were cut off and taken to the Privy Council at Edinburgh—an example of the civilization of that period. He left behind a considerable following, to whom he had now become a martyr and which acquired the name of 'Cameronians'.

William III, soon after he came to the throne in 1688, decreed that all Scotland, north of the Tweed, should adopt the Presbyterian religion. Though this was satisfactory to many Scots, there were very mixed feelings in the country. The Stuarts had proved somewhat unworthy, but the idea of replacing them with a Dutch king did not have much appeal, specially among the Highlanders, and 'Bonnie Dundee' was hard at work raising a rebel army. William thought a good counter-move would be to raise a regiment of Covenanters, and a hotly-contested meeting was held in the parish church of Douglas, with the result that 1,200 men, mostly from the Douglas estates, enlisted. The first Colonel was the Earl of Angus, son of the Marquis of Douglas, and the Lieut.-Colonel in command was William Cleland who, though under thirty, was a veteran Covenanter, having fought at Drumclog and Bothwell Brig ten years before.

The Cameronians still preserve the memory of those early days and make 'every battle a new exercise of their faith'. As in those bitter times, when their ancestors could only meet for worship in secret places, they carry arms at outdoor church parades, and send out picquets to clear the ground and prevent interruption. A full-dress 'Conventicle' is held annually on the Sunday nearest to the 12th May, to commemorate the raising of the regiment.

Regarding religious matters from a less serious angle, it was at

this period that regiments marched to the tune of 'Lero-lero-lilli-bulero', then the most popular song in the country, with a good lilt and swing to it. During the 1939–45 war the B.B.C. chose it for that reason, to use as a prelude to the News Bulletins. It was actually an anti-Papist song—the Army's protest at the attempts of James II to carry out a 'purge' of Protestant officers and men and replace them with Catholics.

In 1689 the 'bloody Claverhouse' was ready for some more trouble, and met the Government forces at KILLIECRANKIE, his last battle. Claverhouse was a renowned and inspiring leader, who was able to get the utmost out of his devoted Highlanders—so long as he kept them on the move and in action. His force—a rebel one, supporting the Stuarts against William III—was about 6,000 strong, composed mainly of MacDonalds of Sleat, Glengarry, and Clan Ranald, Macleans, Camerons, and Gilians—all noted fighting families, supported by a squadron of mounted gentlemen.

The commander of the Government forces—Lieut.-General Hugh Mackay, marched out to find the Jacobites, with a strength of about 4,000, which included BUCHAN'S (RSF), LEVEN'S (KOSB), MACKAY'S, BALFOUR'S, RAMSAY'S and an English regiment. In addition he had two Scottish regiments of Horse. The whole affair was strongly reminiscent of one of those disasters in Afghanistan which occurred in the nineteenth century and in which this early lesson had obviously been forgotten.

In order to bring Dundee to battle, Mackay decided to enter the Mountains of Atholl, by the pass of KILLIECRANKIE—a precipitous defile, traversed by a narrow path above a gorge, at the bottom of which the river Garry foamed noisily over its rocky bed.

Dundee's force had been ensconced in the neighbourhood for some days before Mackay's approached and this was allowed to toil slowly up through the wild forest country to the head of the pass, without molestation but, of course, under observation.

Mackay by then suspected trouble approaching, and formed-up on the very limited open space available.

Dundee, having waited to see Mackay's force enter the pass, had made a detour over the hills and assembled his men on higher ground overlooking his enemy's final position.

For two hours, nearly until sunset, he kept Mackay in suspense confined in the lower ground and faced by the Highlanders on a hill which was too steep for him to attack.

Then as the light began to fade the Highland army advanced slowly down the hill, crouching behind their 'targets' (shields), as they stole through the gloom of the pinewoods.

For some reason, the usual volley-firing was conspicuously absent. There was some firing, but it did not stop the Highlanders

who advanced steadily to within about fifty yards. They then fired off their pistols and rushed in with ferocious yells and, in no time, swept the regiments off their feet, broadsword, Lochaber axe, and two-handed claymore quickly making a shambles. Mackay's cavalry, who might have saved the day, fled in cowardly disorder, and an appalling rout ensued.

One factor which was of great assistance to the Highlanders, was the use of the plug bayonet, which had to be forced into the muzzle. This probably accounted for the absence of firing by some of Mackay's regiments and meant that those which did fire could not fix bayonets in time to meet the charge.

(A short time afterwards ingenuity resulting from bitter experience produced the ring bayonet, said to have been invented by Mackay, which did not obstruct the barrel of the musket.)

In addition, the Government troops of those days included the most useless and contemptible dragoons. Who they were, or why they were not all shot for cowardice, we do not know, but reports of many battles described their headlong flight before even coming in contact with the enemy.

The rout soon scattered, leaving nothing but the dead and wounded and the remnants of LEVEN'S and HASTING'S regiments, which had stood firm, and Mackay retreated to Stirling with all that remained of his force—a body of about 1 500 men, still in a state of 'good order and military discipline'.

The battlefield presented a shocking sight, as the heavy weapons wielded by the brawny Highlanders had left legs, arms and heads scattered away from bodies, some of which were cut in half at the waist, or hewn apart from neck to middle. There seems no doubt that the morale of some of the regiments was at times affected by what they knew of the Highland charge, as this was not the only occasion on which they failed to stand up to it.

The conduct of LEVEN'S REGIMENT (KOSB) at Killiecrankie, was recognized by the City of Edinburgh when they were named the EDINBURGH REGIMENT and were granted the exclusive privilege of being allowed to recruit in the city 'by beat of drum', on any day except Sunday, without first securing permission from the Lord Provost. They still retain the right to march through the city with drums beating, bayonets fixed, and colours flying. Incidentally their later appellation was in consideration of their being 'Borderers' between the Highlands and the Lowlands, not between Scotland and England, as in the case of the BORDER REGIMENT.

As a result of Killiecrankie (in spite of Dundee's death) the Jacobites' strength increased and their morale rose sky-high, but their new commander, General Cannon—lacked Dundee's understanding of Highlanders and kept them inactive, while Mackay

busily re-organized his troops and waited for the enemy to attack instead of venturing again into the hills.

But Government interference caused him unwillingly to send one regiment—the CAMERONIANS—to garrison DUNKELD, a small town within a few miles of the Jacobite camp at Blair. Three troops of Dragoons sent there mutinied and refused to stay, as the town was in no state of defence and an attack might come at any moment. So it fell to the grim and austere Covenanters to take the brunt alone. There were 1,200 of them, all practically untrained recruits, and it seemed likely that there would be another massacre.

The senior officers, to ensure the confidence of their men, gave a demonstration of their own determination to see it out, by ordering their horses to be shot. This gesture had the desired effect, without the need to carry out the order, and was followed by a magnificent defence against 5,000 Highlanders.

Fortunately Cannon had no ammunition for his guns, but there was bitter and prolonged fighting from house to house and wall to wall throughout the town. Cleland, the Commanding Officer, was killed, and among many others, Major Henderson who had taken over from him. They ran out of bullets and detailed a party, while the fight went on, to strip lead from the roof of the Marquis of Atholl's house and quickly make it up into improvised missiles.

Jacobites got into houses and fired from windows and Cameronians retaliated by sorties in which they set fire to the buildings and roasted many Highlanders. Things went on like this for the greater part of the day and, at last, the CAMERONIANS, hopelessly outnumbered and down to their last charge of powder, prepared to finish it out by rallying together in the Marquis's house.

The impression is that they would have fought to the last man, quoting the scriptures against the Jacobites as they did so. But at this point the Highlanders, not knowing the extent of their plight decided in accordance with the tradition of raiding parties, that the game was not worth the candle, and drew off.

The CAMERONIANS had won the campaign, as they broke the morale of Cannon's men, who at once began to disperse and return to their hill-country, and at the same time they had made a brilliant first chapter for their regimental history.

CHAPTER II · 1690-1745

MARLBOROUGH'S BATTLES. THE UNION. THE '15 AND THE '45. THE BLACK WATCH. FONTENOY

Service on the Continent of Europe now began to figure prominently in the lives of Scottish soldiers, beginning with the WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG. In the history of this war names occur of places in Flanders and the Low Countries which have become more and more familiar to the army as it has revisited them in war after war through the centuries—Namur, Ypres, Mons, Tournai, Lille, Béthune, Charleroi, to mention only a few.

Scotland's regiments which took part in the war were the SCOTS GUARDS, the 'GREY DRAGOONS', the ROYAL REGIMENT (RS), the ROYAL SCOTCH FUZILEERS (RSF), the EDINGBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB), and the CAMERONIANS—in fact all the regular regiments which were then in existence.

At STEENKIRK, 1692, one of the principal battles (in which the allied Commander-in-Chief, Count Solmes—a stupid man—vented his spite against the British by withholding reinforcements at a critical time), there was an incident which is proudly remembered by the ROYAL SCOTS. (After being DUMBARTON'S, they had again become DOUGLAS'S REGIMENT, under Sir Robert Douglas.) It cannot have happened many times that a Colonel has personally recovered a Colour from the enemy, but Sir Robert did it on this occasion. During a mêlée, a Frenchman carried off one of the Colours and was pursued by the Colonel, who struck him down and regained it, but at the same moment was mortally wounded by a bullet. With a desperate effort, which took all of his remaining vitality, he just managed to throw it clear of the enemy to be caught by one of his men, and fell dead. Nearby the young Lord Angus, heir to the house of Douglas was killed at the head of the Cameronians.

Steenkirk was the bloodiest battle in which the army had yet been engaged and British losses numbered over 8,000, but thanks to Count Solmes' personal ill-humour, neither side could claim a victory. In the words of John Fortescue the plan was 'admirably designed and abominably executed'.

Just as in a review at the present day, the senior regiment

(DOUGLAS'S) (RS) was on the right of the line and one of its officers, Captain M'Cracken, was in command of some guns (the old system of detailing two or more guns to each infantry battalion). He directed their fire so well that at one phase of the battle he laid flat a whole rank of a French battalion, as a row of toy soldiers might be knocked down, by accurate enfilade fire.

Another battle at LANDEN, 1693 (although little is known about it), was almost on the scale of Waterloo—50,000 allied troops under William III against 80,000 French, but again the result was indecisive. William had a musket ball through his wig, one through his sleeve, and another took the knot off his sash. The allies lost 78 guns, 22 infantry and 43 cavalry colours, and captured 56 colours.

The final siege of NAMUR, 1695, was the most decisive event in this campaign, in which the GREYS, the SCOTS GUARDS, the ROYAL REGIMENT (RS), the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB), and the CAMERONIANS took part.

The recognized system of defence works at that time normally included a ditch, a palisade of timber and a 'covered way' or trench from which the defenders could fire, but where they were protected from a bayonet charge by the roofing, all these being duplicated and elaborated as required and according to the time available. The main function of the Grenadier Companies, which were often brigaded together, was to hack down the palisades, break open the 'covered ways', bomb the enemy in them and generally to clear the way for the main infantry assault.

The famous engineer, Vauban, had been at work after the French had captured Namur from the Dutch and the defences were very strong and included a whole system of out-works on the Bouge Heights. The Meuse and Sambre rivers and inundations from them gave additional protection on three sides and there was a garrison of 16,000 picked troops.

The Guards Brigade, which included the 1st SCOTS GUARDS (the 2nd was with the 'covering force'—a force which generally had to be detached to prevent mobile enemy troops arriving from outside and interfering with the siege operations), was given orders which illustrate the high state of discipline which had been achieved. They marched with muskets shouldered, in solid ranks, keeping dressing and step, drums beating and colours flying, under fire from guns and muskets, but not returning a shot, until they came right up to the palisades. Then they fired one volley and went in with the bayonet. After two days of trench and street fighting the town was surrendered, but the citadel—a self-contained fortress, held out for another twenty-eight days.

The EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB) met with disaster near the demi-bastion of St. Roch, when a well-timed enemy mine exploded

as they were carrying out an assault and killed 20 officers and over 500 men, who were mostly blown to pieces and scattered piecemeal over a wide area—a truly unnerving spectacle. The ROYALS (RS) were detailed for the attack on the Bouge Heights, where the Grenadier Companies carried woolsacks and gabions with which to fill-in the ditch, so that it should not impede the main attack. This important success was expected to end the war, but the next development was a threat by Louis XIV to invade England, which expedited the return home of many regiments.

There is little mention of prisoners of war in the records of this period, as there was no system of interning them for 'the duration', which in some wars would have meant many years. Instead the mediaeval practice of ransoming was continued on a fixed tariff for each rank. Sir Robert Douglas was one of those captured and ransomed. What happened to a man who was so unfortunate as not to get his ransom paid is a doubtful point.

There was now a short spell of Home Service, and it is interesting to compare the pay of the army with that of modern times. To take a few examples—a Lieut.-Colonel drew 7/– a day, a 'Captaine' 8/–, an Ensign 3/– (5/3 in 1914), a Sergeant 1/6 and a 'Sentinel' or 'Private Man' 7d. A Drummer was a comparatively rich man (or boy) with 1/–, and a Drum-Major had the same as a Sergeant. Field Officers drew a sort of basic rate as Captains in addition to the pay of their own rank and, in the Guards, all Captains had the additional rank of Lieut.-Colonel, and Lieutenants the additional rank of Captain. This gave them special seniority among other officers and presumably they drew the pay of both ranks. The approximate cost of paying a battalion for a year was £16,000 and considering the value of the £ to-day in relation to its value only as far back as 1914, it would probably be a false assumption to think that the Army was grossly underpaid.

To continue for a moment on the financial plane, Lawrence Weaver in *The Story of The Royal Scots*, quotes from Colonel Clifford Walton on the punishment of a forger, convicted by one of the earliest Courts Martial, in 1700, which was known as 'running the Gauntlope'. One remembers a faint echo of this in early school days, but the original performance was a shocking display of barbarity. 'The regiment or company paraded with open ranks, each man being furnished with a willow wand or other stout switch; the ranks were then faced inwards so as to form so many lanes of men. The prisoner, stripped to the waist, was then brought out and marched down the lanes or ranks; as he passed along each soldier struck him on his naked back, breast, arms, or where his cudgel should light. The Provost-Marshal attended the parade to regulate the details of the punishment, and he gave the signal to begin it by inflicting the

first stroke. It was the business of the officers to see that no favour was shown. In order to drown the cries of the patient(!), drums were beaten during the punishment.' The man in question had to run the gauntlet of two whole battalions three times in three days and then be 'stripped and disgracefully chased away with drums'. Even if some men did not hit as hard as they appeared to, one can imagine that he must have been in very poor form at the end of it.

With the beginning of the eighteenth century, the British Army, under John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough (one of the ablest and most successful Generals in all its history) began to achieve a foremost place among the armies of the world. For long the powerful armies of France had thought themselves invincible and a victory against them had been a rare occurrence. But now, in great battles, whose fame is remembered down the centuries—BLENHEIM (1704), RAMILLIES (1706), OUDENARDE (1708), MALPLAQUET (1709)—the British soldier came to his own again, and France, the world's leading land power, was sombrely reminded of Crécy and Agincourt. It is true that some of these battles were indecisive and that in numbers alone the British Army could not compete, but it established a reputation and instilled a healthy respect into its enemies, which has been maintained to the present day.

In this war, known as the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, the Scottish regiments again took a full share, and all the battles mentioned above are commemorated by battle honours on the colours of the GREYS, the ROYALS (RS), and the 21st (RSF). The CAMERONIANS have the same honours but, being a Rifle regiment, have no colours.

It is not within the scope of this book to describe these battles, but a few incidents in them give some idea of the service of the Scottish regiments. At BLENHEIM the procedure of the Guards Brigade, at Namur, was repeated by Lord Cutts' Division. They marched in three lines, the 21st (RSF) being in the first and the ROYALS (RS) in the third, without firing a shot until Brigadier Row (who was Colonel of the Royal Scots Fusiliers) was able to touch the palisade with his sword-point. This time, however, the attack was beaten off with heavy loss and Row was killed. When, after repeated assaults, these regiments had lost a third of their numbers, they had to endure a fresh ordeal—a charge by the cavalry 'Corps D'Élite', and many more were laid low. A colour was taken from the 21st (RSF) but was recovered by an allied regiment of Hessians.

Under a less versatile commander this might easily have ended in catastrophe, but Marlborough at once changed his whole plan and made successful attacks elsewhere. These resulted in the village of Blenheim becoming isolated, and the surrender of twenty-four battalions, three regiments of Dragoons, and Marshall Tallard the

French Commander. In the rout many of the French were driven into the Danube by the allied cavalry. Losses were heavy in these battles of short-range volleys, point-blank gunfire and bayonet work, and the allies' casualties amounted to 4,500 killed, and 7,500 wounded (this included twenty officers of the CAMERONIANS), against the Franco-Bavarian total loss, counting prisoners, of 28,000.

The GREYS made a considerable amount of regimental history in this campaign. At the SCHELLENBERG, 1704, following the orthodox employment of Dragoons, they took part in the assault as infantry and ended the day as cavalry in pursuit of the routed enemy. At Blenheim they took part in a cavalry charge and, strangely enough, though they had many wounded, not a man was killed. At RAMILLIES they captured the French 'Regiment du Roi', complete with its colours and all its equipment and, during a day of intense activity, they took sixteen or seventeen enemy colours. Like hunters of early times, who wore the skins and feathers of their kills, the GREYS and the 5th DRAGOONS took and wore the grenadier caps of their prisoners and were afterwards officially granted the privilege (the grenadier cap was always a mark of the élite) of wearing similar caps in place of the ordinary three-cornered hat. This developed by degrees into a bearskin cap similar to those of the Guards, which the GREYS wore until 1914. It was then unique for a cavalry regiment.

It was after Ramillies that an incident came to light, such as is recorded only two or three times in the history of the army—the case of a woman successfully masquerading as a man during years of service in the ranks. When Richard Welsh, a private in the ROYALS (RS), went away to the wars, his wife was not content to follow instructions and 'bide at hame'. Instead she joined a Foot regiment, as a man, and in 1702 became a Dragoon in the GREYS. She was wounded at the Schellenberg, but still managed to conceal her sex. Her meeting with her husband took place in dramatic circumstances on the battlefield of Blenheim and they succeeded in passing as brothers. Ramillies, however, was her undoing, as she was wounded again, and this time, her secret came out while she was unconscious in the 'hospital'. (Inverted commas because one would not honour it with such a name to-day.) The army apparently thought she was worth keeping and her services were allowed to continue, but in female attire, as a sutleress-cum-intelligence agent. She was ultimately pensioned on a 'bob' a day and on her death in 1739 she was given a funeral which included muffled drums, firing party and full ceremonial. It would have been interesting to see a portrait of 'the pretty dragoon', or 'Mother Ross', as she was called in later years. Probably she was of a similar type to those splendid women who were parachuted into enemy country on secret missions

in the last war—or she may have been just a tough old type equally handy with musket or rolling-pin.

MALPLAQUET, the last great battle of this war, with 20,000 allied and 12,000 French casualties, was the bloodiest battle of the period. To give some idea of its scale, Marlborough with 93,000 men, attacked Villars who had 95,000, and they fought it out in an area about five miles square. John Buchan says: 'So ended Malplaquet—a victory, but an indecisive victory, one of the costliest in the story of war. That woodland fighting where neither side gave quarter, carried men beyond the limit of mortal endurance.' He adds: 'In 1914 the 1st ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS, on their way to Mons, crossed the field of Malplaquet, where their Colonel halted them and reminded them of the gallant deeds of the regiment in 1709.' A rather similar incident occurred at the battle of the GHEETE RIVER, near Ramillies, in 1705, when the ROYALS (RS) advanced to the attack over the graves of men of the regiment who died at the battle of Landen twelve years before.

It is interesting to note that, at Malplaquet, in addition to the regular Scottish regiments, there were, in the Dutch contingent, two Scottish regiments of mercenaries—TULLIBARDINE's and HEPBURN's, which suffered very heavily at the wood of Laigniéres, in a desperate battle of bayonet, broadsword and butt-end.

The war was ended by the Peace of Utrecht, and, as usual, the army was quickly reduced. In those days life in the ranks was unenviable, even in peace-time. Recruits were obtained mostly from the gaols, vagrants and 'out-of-works', men who joined for a 'bounty', and those who were enlisted so that someone else might have the bounty. Of course there were some who came in because they wanted to be soldiers, and these were far more numerous in the Scottish regiments. Quarters and feeding were foul, N.C.O.'s had too much control of the men's lives, and pay was whittled down to almost nothing by the time it reached the 'Private Sentinel', (Sentinel, originally spelt with a 'C' meant one of a hundred—the normal strength of Privates in a Company). Officers were sometimes commissioned as young children, under the 'Purchase system', and Buchan says 'There is a tale of a visitor in a Scot's house asking what the noise upstairs signified, and being told that "it was the Major greetin' ower his parritch".' Fortescue tells of a lad of twelve who actually served in Flanders but damaged his career by killing his opponent in a duel at the age of sixteen.

It would have taken more than one C.-in-C. to deal with all the abuses, but Marlborough did a great deal to improve conditions for the men in the ranks. The fact that they spoke of him as 'Corporal John', and would cheerfully march till they dropped in their tracks, if he ordered it, gives some insight into his character. They

PLATE III

Left to right

1689
The Earl of Leven's Regt. (KOSB)
Pikeman

1743
The 43rd or Highland Regt. of Foot (BW)
Corporal

1742
The 21st or Royal North British Fuzileers (RSF)
Fuzileer

1685
The Scotch Guards (SG)
Musketeer

1745
The Cameronians
Sergeant

1743
The 2nd or Royal North British Regt. of Dragoons (Greys)
Dragoon

1739
The Royal Regiment of Foot (RS)
Coy. Officer

PLATE III

gave their opinion about him once, during an incident which took place after his scandalous dismissal by Queen Anne. When the Duke of Ormonde, his successor, announced, during a march, the cessation of hostilities (after nearly ten years of war), he had a surprise. Instead of the cheering he expected, there was a clearly audible growl of disgust and disappointment from every regiment, and when the men were dismissed, the air quivered with profane and lurid descriptions of Ormonde and his ancestors, some going so far as to rage about, tearing their hair, and even rending their garments in Biblical style.

While the war was in progress, the union of the Parliaments of Scotland and England was enacted, in 1708, arrangements having gone so far in the previous year as to combine the flags of St. Andrew and St. George, to form the Union Jack. One result affecting the army was some changes in the names of regiments, e.g. The Royal Scots Dragoons (Greys) became THE ROYAL NORTH BRITISH DRAGOONS and similarly the Royal Scots Fusiliers became the ROYAL NORTH BRITISH FUSILIERS. These innovations were not greatly appreciated in Scotland and eventually they reverted to Scottish titles.

And now, once again, came a period of civil war in Scotland, but this time it was for or against the King—a difference from the customary family or clan bickerings of the good old days. In any case it showed that the Union had not caused the Scots to settle down to a peaceful existence.

THE 'OLD PRETENDER' was convinced that the time was ripe to assert his claim to the throne and though many Scots had serious doubts about the outcome, a considerable number, carried away by nationalist feeling and the excitement of another scrap in prospect, threw discretion overboard and rallied to his support. By 6th September, 1715, he considered he had enough followers to raise the standard of rebellion, with the Earl of Mar in command until his arrival. But Mar was no Marlborough, or Claverhouse. With an army of 12,000 he dallied for James to appear, and the rising somehow divided itself into two campaigns. One force, of Highlanders and Lowlanders, crossed the border in great style with pipes skirling, swords flashing, and full of confidence, only to meet with early defeat at PRESTON; while in the north, Mar waited in vain for promised reinforcements. His men, as Andrew Lang tells us, were poorly provided with powder and flints. 'The Highlanders continued to keep their powder loose in their pockets, where it was ruined if the weather was wet; while if a warrior thoughtlessly put his lighted pipe in his pocket [he must have been rather pre-occupied] the results were instantaneous and damaging. . . . Mar seems to have regarded powder as a rare product of the soil in certain favoured

regions, not as a commodity which could be made at Perth or Aberdeen by arts known to men.'

Mar finally set out with 6,000 or 7,000 men and eleven cannon—for which there was no ammunition—and after some vicissitudes, met Argyll with the Royal army on 13th November at SHERRIFFMUIR. Among the government troops were the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB), the GREYS, and the R.N.B. FUSILIERS (RSF). The battle was so inconclusive that Rob Roy, the famous outlaw, holding back his MacGregors and MacPhersons to join the winning side at the psychological moment, could judge no tide of victory. By the 13th November hostilities came to an end and James returned to France a disappointed man, leaving his loyal supporters to get themselves out of their difficulties—some met their end on the scaffold.

Anticipating that these efforts might be repeated, the government tried to tame the military ardour of the Highlanders and further to undermine the clan system, by passing the Disarming Act in 1725, which was to have far-reaching effects on Scotland and the army. The first attempt at policing the Highlands had been the formation of 'INDEPENDENT COMPANIES' as early as 1667, but these were disbanded in 1717. Now, General Wade was ordered to enforce the new Act and to construct about 450 miles of military roads and a chain of forts. The object was to 'contain' the Highlands and make it possible to move troops into position with reasonable speed in case of trouble, a precaution which justified itself in 1745 when 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' made his bid for the throne. To assist General Wade in keeping order the system of 1667 was revived and four of his Companies wore a dark-coloured tartan, which earned them the nickname of 'am Freiceadan Dubh', the BLACK WATCH, in contrast to Saighdearan Dearg—red soldiers.

The ROYALS (RS) were, at this time, in Ireland, doing very similar work to that of the INDEPENDENT COMPANIES at home, and it is recorded that several ingenious officers got themselves into serious trouble for enlisting Irishmen, by the subterfuge of sending them across to Scotland to be sworn, and then bringing them back in Scottish bonnets.

In 1727 and again in 1732, the French and Spaniards tried to take GIBRALTAR and the CAMERONIANS took part in the first defence and the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB) in the second.

Mentions of the deeds of 'other ranks' are still rare at this period, but there are some interesting details of the career of a remarkable man—Sergeant Donald McLeod, who was transferred from the ROYALS (RS) to the INDEPENDENT COMPANIES (BW) as a drill-sergeant in 1730. His age at enlistment is unknown, but he was a sergeant at seventeen. He was in action at the Schellenberg, Blenheim, and Ramillies, and became the champion swordsman of the

regiment, at a time when every man was proficient with this weapon. After contests in which he 'pinked his men'—a French officer, a French sergeant, and a German officer—he fought the Irish giant, MacLean, in Dublin. MacLean squeezed his hand in the preliminary handshake as if he hoped to put it out of action, with the result that MacLeod 'came out fighting' and the giant lost his right arm. During the ''15' he fought Captain MacDonald of Knoydart, who admitted defeat when his sporran-strap was cut off, and at Sherriffmuir he fought and killed two Frenchmen, but was seriously wounded.

He served with the 43rd Highlanders (BW) at Fontenoy and was wounded again. After transferring to FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS he was at Louisburg, and Quebec, where General Wolfe, mortally wounded, was carried to the rear in MacLeod's plaid. MacLeod had been wounded once more, but recovered sufficiently to be selected, as a special honour, to guard the General's body on its voyage to England. By this time he was over seventy and was admitted to Chelsea Hospital, but his service was not yet finished. He obtained his discharge and served with CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS in Germany, where he received two more wounds. At the age of eighty-eight he actually did retire, but lived on to one hundred and three, surviving a shipwreck in which he lost his beloved sword. At least seventy-one years service, six great battles and others less important, and four times wounded together make up a considerable record.

The INDEPENDENT COMPANIES (BW), of which there were six, derived their name from the fact that they were raised and operated separately in the district of their origin, on the system of giving a poacher a responsible job as a game-keeper, which has been repeated in various parts of the Empire, e.g. the Mahsud Khassadars in Waziristan, who used to protect the convoys from marauding tribesmen of their own stock. The three larger Companies, with a strength of about a hundred each, were commanded by Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, while the three smaller ones, of seventy-five men each, were led by Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, who ranked as 'Capt.-Lieutenants'. According to the clan system, every Private soldier was the social equal of his Commanding Officer, and many rode to their parades and had their own gillies (private servants) to carry their kit and attend them in quarters. Thus their discipline was a matter of choice and clan loyalty rather than of 'King's Regulations'.

In 1739, these companies, with four new ones added, were amalgamated into a regiment—the first Highland one, which was originally named the 43rd or HIGHLAND REGIMENT OF FOOT, and in May 1740 the whole regiment was mustered near Aberfeldy in

Perthshire where a statue of a Highlander, in the uniform of 1740, was erected in 1885. John, twentieth Earl of Crawford was appointed colonel—showing a rather unusual degree of diplomacy on the part of the government—the selection of a Lowlander, to obviate any dissatisfaction among the Highland chiefs.

An excellent contemporary description of the Highlanders and their dress is provided by the following quotation from *A Short History of the Highland Regiment*, printed for Jacob Robinson at the Golden Lion Press in 1743:

'To begin with their shoes. The Highlander wears a sort of thin pump or brogue, so light that it does not in the least impede his activity in running; and from being constantly accustomed to these kind of shoes, they are able to advance or retreat with incredible swiftness, so that if they have the better in any engagement it is scarce possible to escape from them: and on the other hand, if they are over power'd they soon recover their hills, where it is impossible to reach them. The reader will easily perceive that this is one of the advantages which the Croats and Pandours have over the French troops, especially in such a country as Bavaria, which is every where intersected by rivers. They gain from hence an opportunity, first of wearying their enemy, 'till they are forced to break, and then they are sure to be knocked on the head, as finding it impossible to run away from these people. In the next place, the Highlander wears broad garters under the knee, and no breeches, but his plaid belted about his waist, which hangs exactly like the folds of the Roman garment, which we see on Equestrian statues; the reason of this dress is, to make the leg firm, and to leave the sinews and joints quite free, to preserve the wearer from any thing that may heat or embarrass him and to afford him an opportunity of extending his limbs with the greatest ease; besides this, he wears a jacket with strait sleeves, and as for his arms they consist in a fusil, a broad sword, a dirk or dagger, an Highland pistol all of steel, hung on the other side of his belt, opposite to the dirk, and a target. The use of these arms they learn from their infancy, and are extremely adroit in them.

The nature of their country, their manner of living, and their continual exercise in hunting, fishing, and fowling, render them hardy, robust, enterprizing, and equally capable of long marches, and of sustaining patiently the want of food or of rest. It is evident therefore, that the striping these men of their arms, and obliging them as it were to a new kind of life, was a bold undertaking, and such a one as seem'd to require an additional force; and in this case none so proper as this of the independent companies; for thus the arms were taken out of the hands of the enemies of the government, and put into those of their friends; this harsh law was executed entirely by their own country men, which gave it less the air of violence, than if it had been done by English troops; and lastly it was done more effectually, for these new raised forces were able to march any where, knew the country, as well as those they were to follow, and having legal authority were every way their superiors.'

The tartan, as worn by the regiment, has been the subject of much research and controversy over the years, but it has been

definitely established, by Major I. H. Mackay Scobie, as the Government tartan. As such it was available to all Scottish regiments, and in slightly modified form (with coloured over-stripes, etc.) it has become the basis for other regimental and clan tartans, of which the Gordon and Mackenzie are two examples. Just as the red coat was typical of the British army as a whole, this tartan (which became one of the oldest in existence, owing to the loss of many of the clan setts after the '45 rebellion) is now regarded as almost the national tartan of Scotland.

In 1743 the country became involved in the WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION and British troops were once more on service in North-West Europe. In the same year the 43rd HIGHLANDERS (BW) were ordered South to prepare for foreign service. But, in London, agitators spread various rumours one of which was that the regiment was bound for West Indian plantations, and managed to stir up a mutiny. Under the leadership of Farquhar Shaw and Corporals Andrew and Samuel MacPherson, the mutineers set off for Scotland but, realizing their folly, they surrendered at Northampton and were marched back to London, to be court martialled. The three leaders were shot, and two hundred men were drafted to other units abroad—an inauspicious beginning to the foreign service of the Highlanders. The mutiny was probably traceable to the independent spirit of clansmen unaccustomed to service in the regular forces, and their, not unreasonable, suspicion of what they regarded as a foreign government. However, their honour has been vindicated on a thousand occasions since that sorry episode.

Meanwhile the war was proceeding, and Britain was concerned, owing to being a party to the Pragmatic Sanction, and having guaranteed to support Maria Theresa in her claim to the crown of Hungary. John, Earl of Stair, an officer who had served under Marlborough and studied his methods, was one of the early Scottish Generals of the British Army, and had a force of 16,000 British, with Austrian, Dutch and Hanoverian allied troops. (The early Georges, being also Electors of Hanover, kept forces available in that country.) Scottish regiments under Stair were the SCOTS GUARDS, the GREYS, the ROYAL REGIMENT (RS), and the 21st or ROYAL NORTH BRITISH FUSILIERS (RSF). These were joined later by the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB) and the 43rd HIGHLAND REGIMENT (BW).

The first full-scale battle was at DETTINGEN, 1743—commemorated on the colours of several of these regiments. Only by the luck of war and some obliging blunders by the enemy, was it a victory, as the French (with whom, incidentally, we were not officially at war) had all the advantages. Their cavalry fought excellently, but their infantry could not face the British volleys and it ended in a

rout, in which many of them, trying to escape over two small bridges across the Main, were crowded into the river and drowned.

The outstanding incident, as regards the Scottish regiments, was the charge of the French cuirassiers against the R.N.B. FUSILIERS (RSF). Sir Andrew Agnew, who commanded the regiment, seeing the Cuirassiers bearing down in full career, while his regiment was in line, had to act quickly. The drill in such an emergency (there being no time to form square) was to 'form' his 'wings' or 'divisions' to the rear, at the double, and let the enemy gallop through the opening thus made. This was done quickly and efficiently and immediately they had passed through he opened fire on their rear from two angles, doing tremendous execution. Unable to re-form and return to the charge, they were thrown into confusion and units disintegrated. A large number were bayonetted by the Fusiliers, who were fighting the old Lowland battle of fierce and aggressive defence against whatever might come. Later George II personally complimented Sir Andrew on this brilliantly successful action, with the dry remark, 'I saw the cuirassiers in among your men this morning, Colonel', to which the Scot replied in characteristic style, 'Oh, aye, yer Majestee, but they didna get oot again.'

This was the last battle in which a King of England and Scotland personally commanded his troops. George had no great military skill, but was not lacking in courage. His methods, however, were not entirely acceptable to his General, as he was constantly giving orders without informing him. On one rather undignified occasion 'he was brandishing his sword and shouting out excited encouragements, till his horse bolted and carried him to the rear.'

After this battle Stair became so disheartened, by the way in which his plans were over-ruled or disregarded, that he resigned and was succeeded by General Wade, the roadmaker, who in turn resigned in 1744, after which the Duke of Cumberland took command. Writing in 1743, one of Stair's complaints was that officers could remain away from their commands for long periods: 'I thought it hard to refuse them permission, when they said that their preferment depended on the interest of their friends at Court. They had no notion that it depended on their exertions here'—a bitter comment on the methods of the period.

The second great battle of this campaign was at FONTENOY, 11th May 1745, and was one of those near-defeats, for which there are no battle honours, but which are remembered with more pride than some great victories.

The British troops carried out their part in perfect order. In the main attack there were two lines of infantry, each consisting of about ten battalions, followed by cavalry some distance in rear. Advancing in the manner of Namur and Blenheim, i.e. in close

order in three ranks, every man's musket on his shoulder, they crossed a long open stretch of level ground, under a shattering crossfire of artillery. The whole movement was carried out like ceremonial drill, and as the lines moved forward with drums tapping out the steady parade-ground step, cannon-shot screamed and bounded among them, smashing up men, taking off heads or arms, and sometimes one shot reducing a dozen or more men to bloody ruin. But discipline was such that not a fit man left the ranks or took his musket off his shoulder, gaps were closed as soon as made and the pace was uninterrupted, until they came within about thirty paces of the French line.

Here they halted, now under musket-fire and, with the numerous and lengthy words of command of eighteenth-century drill-books, the battle began. Each platoon or half-company fired its own volleys —the regulated crashes and bursts of smoke occurring with rhythmic precision, while men continued to fall.

These regiments earned a victory, but on their left their allies proved themselves broken reeds. Infantry refused to advance as soon as they came under fire, and cavalry, with horses to speed them, fled from the field, some in their panic blundering through the British squadrons which were moving up. One can imagine that these gave them a hearty welcome!

The enemy were thus able to reinforce their faltering line in front of the British and, at the crucial moment, when nervous and physical exhaustion were approaching, the French Irish Brigade, of six battalions, charged them on their right flank. Even these were forced back with the bayonet, losing a third of their number. Then the order was given to retire.

The French cavalry, seeing their opportunity, charged in, but they too received an unexpected shock and were driven off by disciplined fire.

Inevitably there was some confusion in the retreat, but it never became a rout and the infantry and guns returned to their camp, the former facing about at every hundred paces while the cavalry made charges against the few French units which attempted to follow-up.

Much more occurred, for which space is not available, but this picture is typical of many battles of this period. Often the allies behaved similarly, and frequently the British had not the numbers to win the day. But usually they acquitted themselves as they did at Fontenoy.

For the 43rd HIGHLANDERS (BW) it was their first battle. They were in the front line, with the GUARDS, and distinguished themselves in the attack and by their steadiness in the retreat. They were specially thanked by Lord Crawford, who commanded the rear-guard.

Sir Robert Munro, in command, was a corpulent yet energetic type, so fat that his men had to haul him out of trenches and over obstacles. The attack was carried out in the Highland technique which consisted in loading, awaiting the enemy's 'present', then falling flat a moment before they fired (Sir Robert remained a lone upright figure during this stage), rising quickly and firing a volley; then rushing in with broadsword, dirk, and target.

It was at Fontenoy that Chaplain Adam Ferguson led his flock with broadsword instead of Bible, and though ordered to retire with the surgeons, he insubordinately said: 'Damn my commission!' No doubt his tough Presbyterians appreciated example better than precept!

There is a story told of the GREYS on the same occasion. The Commanding Officer bound the colour-pike of a guidon to the leg of his son, Cornet Erskine, telling him that he must not return alive without it. After the battle his son reported 'All correct' with the guidon still lashed on.

By the addition of the 43rd (BW), the number of Scottish regiments had risen to seven, and six of them (all except the CAMERONIANS) took part in the battle, all suffering heavy losses—the ROYALS (RS) lost 286 and the R.N.B. FUSILIERS (RSF) over 300 men.

In the year of Fontenoy the Stuart adherents again stirred up civil war, in their final effort to regain the throne, and this rebellion has become known in song and story as 'The Forty-five'. Scots were dissatisfied with the Union and, even had there been no 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', some other Jacobite leader would probably have served their purpose. But Prince Charles Edward, son of the Chevalier de St. George, and grandson of James VII, seemed 'made to order' for the situation. Young, enthusiastic, of handsome appearance, and physically tough as the result of climbing barefoot in the hills about Rome, he made a strong appeal to the national pride and the romantic nature of the Scots.

He loved Scotland passionately, and it was with an eagerness equal to his own that the Jacobite chiefs marched their men out to join him. They entered Edinburgh with no more than a perfunctory pretence of opposition and Charles's somewhat grandiose ambition, which ignored inconvenient facts, was an invasion of England. But Jacobites in England were rare birds and there was little hope of foreign help. In Scotland, too, there were few really able leaders, and there was not even unbroken loyalty in the ranks. So the little army which boldly marched across the Border did so more in a state of mass hypnosis than of practical reasoning.

Actually, in England circumstances were in favour of a rapid invasion, though it is hard to imagine how such a small force could have long survived, even if it had reached London. The Govern-

ment was, as usual, unready for an emergency. George II was in Hanover, Cumberland in Flanders with the bulk of the army, Parliament was not sitting, and the officials in charge were more inclined to 'pass the buck' than to take drastic action.

Under these conditions the enthusiasm of the Scots, urged on by the magnetism of their idolized 'Charlie', overcame the hastily-organized resistance he met in the early stages. He won a battle against General Cope (a former officer of the ROYALS (RS)) at PRESTON PANS, where the Highlanders routed his inexperienced troops, and things began to look quite hopeful. The news that Prince Charlie had reached Derby (with only 7,000 men) caused alarm all over the country. In London the Militia were called out (including the ancestors of 'THE DEVIL'S OWN') and the uproar spread as far as Plymouth, where Lord Dunmore was appointed Governor to defend the South-West coast—presumably against a possible French attack.

But at this stage, finding after some delay that recruits did not come crowding in, that two Government forces were behind him (Wade's and Cumberland's), and that London was defended, Charles began to feel doubtful. Eventually, after much discussion, he reluctantly withdrew to Scotland, managing to by-pass his enemies *en route*, and went as far north as Stirling.

He then retired into the hills, but won another success when he made a sortie against General Hawley's troops at FALKIRK. There his valiant Highlanders made up for lack of equipment and starvation rations by their dash and fighting spirit. They beat off three regiments of Dragoons and afterwards broke up Hawley's infantry, among which were a battalion of the ROYALS (RS).

A man of this regiment shortly afterwards provided one of those almost incredible incidents which typify the divided loyalties of this period. When Lord Kilmarnock and the Prince were at Callender House, they saw from their window a man in the uniform of the ROYALS (RS) armed with a musket, walking unconcernedly towards them through a number of their Highland soldiers and, for some unaccountable reason, not being stopped by any of them. Kilmarnock dashed out of the house in a rage, tore the man's hat off and ground his heel on the offensive black cockade. To his amazement he was immediately confronted by one of his own men, whose dirk-point was a few inches from his stomach, and was forced to stand by while other clansmen came to the 'enemy's' rescue. He then learned that the intruder was a Cameron who had rejoined his clan only the day before, and had permission from his Chief to wear the Royal uniform, pending a supply of more suitable clothes. The man with the dirk was his brother. One of the officers of Charles's own army is reported to have said that no Colonel, or General for

that matter, could meddle with that cockade, but only Lochiel himself.

Many people thought that Prince Charles's withdrawal beyond the Grampians was a fatal blunder, as it meant the loss of all Lowland support, both in men and supplies, and it gave Cumberland time to reorganize and re-group his forces. On the other hand, mountainous country obviously favours guerilla tactics and once having retreated into the hills, it might have taken years to deal with him, if he had kept to the traditional raiding policy and avoided a pitched battle. The longer he could have kept the Government troops on the hop, the more his stock would have risen, and consequently support from all parts would have increased.

One of those short-lived regiments, LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS (raised in June 1745), figured in the rebellion, their first exploit being of a somewhat embarrassing nature. Before they were properly organized the rebellion had started, and the right wing under Lord Loudon, being separated from the left, became the victims of the ingenious mind of Lady MacIntosh and a handful of the Clan Chattan, at the celebrated 'ROUT OF MOY'. Prince Charles, endeavouring to concentrate his troops at Moy Hall, near Inverness, hastily withdrew on being warned that Government troops were creeping up to surround him. Whereupon Lady MacIntosh sent a mere half-dozen retainers, under Duncan Fraser, the local blacksmith, to effect a counter-surprise. As soon as Loudon's men came within range they opened fire from scattered points in the thicket and, calling up non-existent reinforcements of Camerons and MacDonalds, deluded the enemy into thinking they had walked into the picquets of a Highland army. The immediate result was a disorderly flight, which is remembered to this day as one of the few humorous incidents in an otherwise sombre campaign. LOUDON'S REGIMENT was disbanded in 1748, after serving at Culloden and in Flanders and distinguishing itself at Bergen-op-Zoom, so there is little more to tell of its short history.

Prince Charles's victory at Falkirk probably led him on to enact the last scene of his tragedy, at CULLODEN on 16th April 1746. In this he made two irretrievable blunders. First he exhausted his ill-provided men by futile marching in an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the enemy, and then he gave battle in an open plain against a regular force of twice his strength.

A wild morning of snow and sleet on the desolate moors made a fitting background to this last battle. On the Government side nine battalions and two regiments of Dragoons, with ten guns, formed firing, support, and reserve lines. Everything was in parade-ground order, ranks correctly dressed by roll of drums, Colours unfurled, sharp words of command. In contrast, on Charlie's side stood

irregular groups of ill-fed and ragged Highlanders numbering about 5,000, who were, nevertheless, ready and eager for battle. On his right, under Lord George Murray, were the men of Atholl, Stuarts of Appin, Camerons and Frasers, in the centre the MacIntoshes, Farquharsons, MacLeans and Chisholms, and on his left the Duke of Perth commanded the MacDonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch and Glengarry, resentful because they were not given their ancient place of honour on the right. His second line consisted of a few mounted men and some French troops, and Lord Ogilvy's men were in reserve.

The Scottish guns were antique and ill-served and sent their shot over the heads of the red-coated lines, while Cumberland's gunners fired grapeshot accurately among Charles's infantry. (This was a type of missile they had never experienced, and must have been a considerable shock to them.) Similarly the precise volleys of the regulars inflicted far more casualties than the ragged fusilade from the other side, with the result that the Highlanders became impatient to get to close quarters, and their charge, which was always the climax of the day, rather went off at half-cock. Despite this they broke through four regiments. Some of them even went through the second line but, having by then lost their momentum, the third line scattered them. In the fateful moments of that charge the Stuarts' cause was irrevocably lost and, as the Government troops advanced, the battle moved to its inevitable end.

A sinister instance of Clan selfishness was a factor in Charles's defeat, as the three MacDonald regiments, surprisingly, took no part in the charge, and after seeing their fellow Highlanders repulsed and their own chief killed while trying to persuade them to advance, they calmly marched off the field behind their pipers.

The Scots' right wing made a fighting retreat and, as an instance of this, one chief himself cut down thirteen of Cumberland's dragoons at a gap in a dry stone wall, but the final scene was one of relentless pursuit and barbarous massacre.

There was great brutality, and cruelty to the wounded, against which two treacherous incidents must be admitted, when, during the battle, Highlanders who had surrendered, murdered an English officer, and made an unsuccessful attempt on Cumberland—not that this in any way justified it. But it would not be fair to lay the entire blame on the English, as Cumberland's force included the ROYALS (RS), the R.N.B. FUSILIERS (RSF), the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB), and LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS. So it was, to some extent, a matter of Scot *v.* Scot, and things had not changed so very much in Scotland from the days when Covenanters hunted down and killed whole families of Montrose's men, who had been supporting Charles I. In contrast it should be said that, on many occasions when High-

landers won a battle, they went to great trouble to ease the sufferings of enemy wounded. They used to fight like frenzied maniacs, but when it was over, they seem to have felt almost sorry for what they had done.

The subsequent 'mopping-up' of the Highlands and the reign of terror which followed earned Cumberland his unsavoury sobriquet of 'Butcher'. An Act, far more severe than the Disarming Act of 1725, was passed, which proscribed the Highland dress and the use of tartan in any form, and the pipes; and the Clan system was finally disrupted by other stern measures.

Until 1782 the kilt was permitted only in the Army, and, so strong is the Highlander's love of his ancient garb, that many took 'the King's shilling' to enable them to wear it. Divided loyalties again! But presumably they were men who *had* to soldier somewhere, and perhaps a regular engagement had some advantages over the vagaries of Clan warfare (now a thing of the past), or a life of enforced peace, wearing the effeminate dress of the South.

One thing which had become even more evident during the '45, was the fact that a Highland charge was one of the most terrifying features of warfare. These brawny and purposeful hill-men, once they were let loose, could put the fear of God into any but exceptionally highly disciplined troops. Their rapidity of movement and the devastating swing of their broadswords, accompanied by a ferocious appearance, and the deep-throated yells of slogans were too much for most of the English and Lowland regiments of that campaign. This was proved at Preston Pans, and Falkirk, where they made a blood-soaked shambles of the regiments which tried to resist them. (Had they been equal in numbers and as well provided as the Government troops at Culloden, they might, quite possibly, have made a repetition of Killicrankie.)

When the '45 had become a matter of history, it was realized by the authorities in England how valuable they would be if they would serve on her side, and the rest of this story shows how right they were.

As regards the '45, it only remains to mention that some of Scotland's favourite songs and airs originated in those days of stirring hopes and grim disaster. It was a piper in Charlie's army who composed the derisive 'Hey, Johnnie Cope, Are Ye Waukin Yet?', which is still used as a reveille in Highland Regiments. The Prince marched into Edinburgh behind the 'Hundred Pipers', wearing the 'White Cockade', and 'Blue Bonnets O'er the Border' (regimental march of the KING'S OWN SCOTTISH BORDERERS), followed in the sequence of events.

Looking back, it seems that despite the bitterness which endured for years after these sanguinary events, good came out of evil. In

fact the result of the destruction of the Clan system was to make Scotland a nation—or to make the nation a single Clan, according to how one looks at it.

In the early days, as proved at Culloden, loyalty usually went no higher than the Clan, and had the old system survived, probably the Scots, or anyhow the Highlanders, would have continued to be engrossed in domestic quarrels and Clan warfare.

But since this became impossible, they had to find other outlets for their military inclinations and, as a natural consequence, for their varied abilities in other directions. The results are seen in the very important part they have played in the development of the British Empire and the spread of civilization generally.

So it seems not unreasonable to conclude that 'Butcher' Cumberland was (no doubt quite unintentionally) one of the direct causes of Scotland's rise to world importance and of the great success of her partnership in the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER III · 1755-83

NORTH AMERICA. HIGHLAND REGIMENTS. CANADIAN MILITIA. MINDEN. AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The uninitiated might wonder what was the point of our being involved in so many Continental wars which hardly seemed to concern us. The answer is that if France (or any other nation) had been allowed to control Europe, she could have impoverished our small islands by cutting off their trade (as attempted later by Napoleon) and, with no worries about her rear, and vastly superior forces, would doubtless have invaded them. So the natural method of defence was always to ensure that no one country should become dominant.

But rivalry with France was now extending over the world. The eighteenth century was the peak period of empire building, and wherever the French went, the British went too, if they had not arrived first. The Royal Navy feared nothing on the seas (but could not be everywhere at once), while France had the most powerful land forces in the world, and in all the distant wars, these two factors must be remembered.

One aspect of the competition between these two nations was their continuous antagonism in North America, where both French and British settlements had been in existence since the beginning of the seventeenth century—among them a Scottish colony, founded in 1621, which took the name of Nova Scotia, and an English one in Virginia dating from 1606. The French had concentrated mainly along the shores of the great estuary of the St. Lawrence River, which extends nearly a thousand miles, from Belle Isle Strait, to Lake Ontario, and had founded Montreal and Quebec. The latter, dating from 1608, had been taken from them in 1627 and again in 1654, but was restored to them each time, and by 1680 France claimed to own all the country from the Allegheny Mountains to the Rockies. Nearly all the fighting, both against the French and later, in the War of American Independence, took place in the area between the lakes and the St. Lawrence on the west, and the coast from New York to Newfoundland on the east, as the vast areas

further west had scarcely been explored at this period and there were practically no communications there.

The ill-fated expedition of General Edward Braddock, in 1755, when he marched on FORT DUQUESNE, a French strong point, at the confluence of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, and standing on the site of the present Duquesne freight station in Pittsburgh, was the beginning of the ultimate phase of this struggle, and also of important developments in the training of the army. Braddock was a General (unfortunately not unique) who could not adapt himself to strange conditions and, who, with the prejudice of an old-fashioned martinet, scorned the advice of colonials and officers who knew the country and understood the Indians and the French. As an officer of the Coldstream Guards he had served in Flanders and he firmly believed that no one could teach him his business. His column, consisting of infantry, a few cavalry, a Naval detachment, guns, wagons, pack-horses, beef 'on the hoof', etc., had to be preceded by 300 pioneers, hacking a way through the forest, and progressed at an average speed of three miles a day.

The French got warning when they were eighteen miles away, and sent out a force of about 300 regulars and Canadians, and 600 Indians, to ambush them at a ford, where they had to cross the Monongahela River. Actually they did not get as far, but they lay-up in dense scrub and let the column advance right among them—apparently Braddock had no scouts. Then, suddenly, pandemonium broke out—volleys of shots, war-whoops, and tomahawk rushes, from one side and, on the other, confused shouting of orders, men falling all round, troops struggling to get into line, horses bolting, cattle stampeding. The English regiments made their volleys sufficiently effective to panic the French Canadians, but could not see the Indians who were firing from cover. Braddock's Virginians alone knew what to do, and spread out behind tree-trunks and bushes, but he cursed them for cowardice and forced them into line. Finally chaos and massacre ensued, about 900 out of 1,400 troops were killed, and 'warriors' became loaded with scalps. Only about a dozen prisoners were taken to Fort Duquesne, and these were burned alive outside the fort. George Washington was one of the few officers who survived.

In fairness to the man who got all the blame, it must be said that his personal courage was above reproach. He did all he could, in his misguided way, to prevent disaster, and had five horses shot under him, and when mortally wounded he protested, with what strength remained to him, against being carried into shelter. The last thing he said, having learned his lesson somewhat late, was 'We shall know better how to deal with them next time.' This disastrous and discreditable incident evidently speeded-up the school of thought

which was gradually producing the Light Infantry system, and the formation of light units of all arms—picked troops who could move about freely and quickly, think for themselves and act without words of command.

Braddock's débacle shook the rulers of destiny in London so much that it at last became evident to them, from this and many other sources, that a full-scale show-down with France was imminent. (Incidentally the Horse Guards buildings in Whitehall were completed in 1756 and, after a short occupation by the Coldstream and then the 3rd Guards (SG), became the H.Q. of the Commander-in-Chief and remained so for over a century.)

It seemed clear that the war would be fought in several theatres and that as the army would be too small to take the strain—the normal position to this day on an outbreak of war—some rapid reinforcing was necessary.

The crisis was not long in developing and in 1756 a Continental war broke out which went down in history as 'THE SEVEN YEARS WAR'. The siege and loss of Minorca marked the beginning and was an epic, which, however, does not concern the Scottish regiments, though, as will be seen, some of them took part in the campaign in Germany.

During the first year of the war the 50th to 59th REGIMENTS were raised, and the 60th ROYAL AMERICANS, now the KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS, was formed in New York. More regiments were raised in the following year, 1757, and the eloquence of William Pitt persuaded the King and the Government, whose memories of 'the '45' still caused them apprehension, to permit the raising of two new Highland regiments. The (old) 78th or FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS (not the 78th which is now the 2nd SEAFORTH), was raised by the Hon. Simon (late General) Fraser, son of the 13th Lord Lovat who was executed for his part in 'the '45'. Six hundred recruits came from his confiscated estates and 800 more from the surrounding country. It seems most unexpected that, under such conditions, these men should have been so loyal and willing to serve, but perhaps an old Indian proverb was applicable—'The cat is fond of the house, rather than of the master'—and they liked military service, though they could not then have had any special fondness for the King or the Government. Whatever their innermost thoughts, they proved excellent soldiers, and took part in operations at Louisburg, Quebec, and in Newfoundland. The 77th, or MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS were even more of an experiment, as they were recruited from Clans well known to have Jacobite sympathies—the Frasers, MacDonalds, MacLeans &c., by Major The Hon. Archibald Montgomery (later Earl of Eglinton). They also served in America and the West Indies. As an instance of the prejudice still

existing, the 78th, on arrival in Canada, were ordered to adopt the ordinary dress of a Line regiment. Colonel Fraser, however, with great determination, succeeded in getting the order cancelled, and they continued to wear full highland dress, similar to that of the ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT (BW), during the whole of their service.

The notable success of these two regiments convinced the authorities of the loyalty and good discipline of Highlanders in general and led to the raising of many more Highland regiments during the American wars. Unfortunately most of these were disbanded at the end of hostilities. (Appendix II gives the names of the short-lived Highland regiments.)

In 1758 things were not going too well in America, except for the successful expedition under Wolfe, which took Louisburg and Cape Breton Island, in which the 2nd ROYAL REGIMENT (RS), and FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS took part.

There was an expedition against Fort Duquesne, the scene of Braddock's fiasco, which was found abandoned and was reconstructed and named Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh), and the third prong of the attack, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point involved the 42nd (BW), in very heavy losses.

TICONDEROGA was the Indians' name for the French Fort Carillon. The sound of the water rushing from Lake George into Lake Champlain had given rise to this peaceful appellation, but the names of the two lakes themselves are suggestive of bitter rivalry and, though it was a place of scenic beauty, at times it was anything but a haven of peace.

Abercrombie, the General in command, seems to have been another Braddock. In any case his methods and his bull-headed outlook seem to tally. (Not to be confused with Sir Ralph Abercrombie.)

The opening phase of the attack was a brilliant scene, reminiscent of a regatta—hundreds of boats of various types carrying 6,000 troops across the placid waters of the lake, the sun glinting on weapons and Colours and showing up the bright hues of the uniforms. An incongruous prelude to the events which followed.

The whole force landed without opposition and advanced confidently to deal with the much weaker garrison, under the Marquis de Montcalm. That officer's ideas, however, had progressed beyond the time-worn practice of waiting behind a stockade for the enemy's attack and he had gone in extensively for booby-traps and obstacles, and the unexpected. The attack could only come from one direction owing to the position of the fort on a peninsula, and Montcalm had constructed concealed redoubts and gun emplacements in the woods and had felled a mass of trees lying one over another, with branches facing the enemy and trimmed off into sharp points. These lay right

across the only approach and were covered by close-range fire.

Abercrombie's engineer-officer was as blameworthy as the General. He made a reconnaissance and reported no serious difficulties, and so the assault was set in motion without any artillery. For hours the troops gamely sacrificed themselves in repeated efforts to get at the French, and the Highlanders, who were in reserve, eventually could bear inaction no longer and rushed to the attack without orders. A few actually got into the fort, only to be killed, and the rest remained furiously endeavouring to get through the abattis and being shot down in scores. The French said they screamed with rage as they hacked at the obstacles with their broadswords. The only result was that the piles of dead and wounded continued to grow larger, and eventually even Abercrombie had to admit that it was useless wastage of good men, and order a retreat. Proof of the noble efforts of the 42nd was their loss of 647 killed and wounded, out of a total of 2,000 casualties for the whole force.

The following year Ticonderoga and Crown Point were evacuated while another expedition was on the way. (Ticonderoga figured in a number of historic episodes. It fell into ruins, but was restored and opened in 1909 as a museum. It is now in U.S.A. territory, and the museum has become a sort of shrine of all the armies which fought there at one time or another—British, French, Americans, Indians, German mercenaries—and it contains a wonderful collection of relics and records of the military history of the district.)

One of the 42nd officers killed at 'Ti' (as it is known locally), was Captain John Campbell who, as a Private, had been one of two men who were presented at George II's court at Edinburgh, to satisfy his curiosity regarding those (to him) strange Highlanders. Before they were permitted to withdraw, the King gave each a gold guinea—with which they rather ostentatiously tipped the flunkey at the entrance! Though they might be Private soldiers, they were men of good birth and did not want gratuities, even from their Hanoverian monarch. In 1882 John Campbell's great nephew, Colonel E. A. C. Campbell, was the third Commanding Officer of the 5th BATTALION THE ROYAL SCOTS OF CANADA, NOW the BLACK WATCH (ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT) OF CANADA.

Some Company Order Books of the 42nd, which are still in existence, give some very interesting sidelights on regimental life at this period. They begin at New York in 1759.

At the head of each day's orders the 'Parole' or password was given. Evidently there was little fear of enemy agents, or 'security' training had not made much progress.

In camp the men lived six in a tent (there were some hutted camps), and there was 'spruce beer' available at the 'breweree' for about three 'coppers' a gallon. Rations for a week were 7 lb. bread,

4 lb. beef, 2 lb. pork, ½ lb. butter, 1½ pts. peas, 2 pts. oatmeal; and that hackneyed expression of Q.M.'s, 'in lieu of', was already in full vogue.

'Drill' was only mentioned as a punishment and all training was referred to as 'exercise'. Wooden flints were used for such purposes, as an economy, but the regiment was noted for its keenness on good shooting and 'all shooting boards' were to be 'covered with paper and a black spot made in the middle',—the old bull's-eye target, but apparently with no regulation size for the bull. Men going out 'shutting' were expressly forbidden to break down farmers' fences.

Line formation in two ranks was beginning to supersede the old system of three. (*The History of the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders* gives 1857, nearly a hundred years later, as the date when 'forming fours' was introduced into the Canadian Forces.)

In spite of Colonel Fraser's (of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS) persistence, the 42nd found the kilt unsuitable for some duties—mainly work in 'battoes' (boats)—and breeches had to be made from old tents. But for review parades full regimental dress was worn, hair was powdered and 'the awkward men' were put on guards until the inspection was over!

Only one piper was officially authorized for a battalion, but some others were 'wangled' as drummers. Not many could be got in this way, as drummers were required for sounding all the calls for which bugles later came into use, and for giving the signals for movements on the parade-ground, in addition to their ordinary band duties.

'Sutlers' (civilian shop-keepers), some of whom used ox-waggons, were allowed to supply food to the men, but no 'spirituous liquors', and if any woman attempted to pitch a tent near the lines, the Q.M. was to 'order it to be struck and burnt, directly'!

On the grimmer side, a very serious view was taken of absence or desertion and one deserter (from another regiment) was sentenced by G.C.M. to be shot and another to receive a thousand lashes with the 'cat and nine tails', by the drummers.

Finally, as a 'bonne-bouche', 'No scouting parties, or others from the Army' were to scalp any women or children belonging to the enemy (no veto on men), but if the enemy should commit such a crime the G.O.C. intended to see that two of their men should be shot for every woman or child so treated. (This horrid custom seems to have appealed to some British Generals as, in 1777, General Burgoyne's Orders provided for sending 'parties of savages' in pursuit of any deserters, with instructions to scalp them.)

These order books mention Light Infantry and ROGERS' RANGERS, whose descendants are the QUEEN'S RANGERS, 1ST AMERICAN REGIMENT (Canadian Army) of Toronto, and FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS.

After the varied happenings in Canada which have just been described, a startling change came over the scene in 1759, when Major-General James Wolfe appeared before QUEBEC. Wolfe was a remarkable man (rather of the Nelson type), not one of those dashing leaders with large bodies and loud voices, but less robust and more thoughtful, yet with great force of character and a determination to make his job his whole life. He had more than ordinary consideration for others, but would use the sternest methods to enforce discipline. He was commissioned at fourteen, was a Brigade-Major at eighteen, and the then unusual fact of his being promoted over senior officers showed that he must have had outstanding merit. It was reported that, after the battle of Culloden, he offered to resign his commission rather than carry out Cumberland's brutal orders on Prince Charles's men who were prisoners and wounded.

Scottish regiments were represented at Quebec by FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS. There were 9,000 troops under Wolfe's command and before the final stage of this amphibious operation there were months of setbacks and uncertainty, involving numerous feats of navigation in the dangerous waters of the St. Lawrence, temporary landings and withdrawals, small actions and considerable hardships for all concerned. One very tedious part of the proceedings was a daily water-borne expedition, fully equipped for landing, which went up the river on the flood tide and down on the ebb. This continued until the French were thoroughly bored, and weary of moving from place to place to meet an attack which seemed as if it would never come.

On the fateful day, the troops, packed into long lines of small boats and carrying two days' rations, moved up-river on the tide before dawn, passing in silence below numbers of French posts on the banks and cliffs. Twice Wolfe's boat was challenged by sentries but an officer of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, who was a good linguist, managed to deceive them into thinking it was a French boat.

Thanks to their excellent training and discipline, and the efficiency of the naval personnel manning the boats, the whole force reached a small secluded beach (now known as Wolfe's Cove) without being detected, though the boats had to make more than one journey to carry them all.

Some of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS were the first to land and had to scramble up precipitous cliffs in the early light, moving mainly on all fours and clutching at bushes and stones to haul themselves up. They surprised and dealt with a Captain's Guard on a battery at the top, without causing a general alarm, and then guarded a narrow cliff path while the other troops came up.

Before the French realized that anything was happening, there were 4,500 men, comprising nine regiments, formed in line of

battle on the Plains of Abraham, where they faced Quebec at a distance of roughly a mile.

There they rested for about two hours, while Montcalm, who could scarcely believe his eyes on seeing the British line, decided to attack and drive them over the cliffs, so the French infantry and field guns marched out and formed up for battle.

Their guns opened fire and blew gaps in the British ranks, and sharpshooters gave some trouble from bush-covered banks and gulleys, but the line stood still and silent, until the French had advanced to within forty yards.

Then, with parade-ground precision, volley after volley crashed out and smoke obliterated the enemy. When it thinned it was seen that they had halted hesitantly, standing among swathes of bodies and looking thoroughly shaken.

Montcalm then tried to retrieve the situation by a flanking movement on the British left. (Their right was near the cliffs.) But this was beaten back with more volleys and again the enemy hesitated.

Wolfe, at the head of the 28th (GLOUCESTERSHIRE REGIMENT), judged this to be the moment for a charge and gave the signal. As the line pressed forward cheering, he fell with his third and fatal wound—on the crest of the surging uplift of battle, and at the zenith of a brilliant career. He survived just long enough to be assured that the French were beaten.

Many of the men must have seen him struck down and the charge seemed to gain in impetus and violence as if in anger at the loss of a commander who had earned such a place in the hearts of his men. They broke and scattered the French regiments and chased them into Quebec, FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS outpacing all the rest. Montcalm, too, died of wounds on the following day, but in contrast to Wolfe, he passed out with the sad knowledge that he had lost Quebec—and Canada. There was some fighting later, but that day, the 13th September 1759, was the turning point in the history of that great Dominion.

Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser, of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, wrote in his very meticulous diary, 'Thus ended the battle of Quebec, the first regular engagement that ever was fought in North America, which has made the King of Great Britain master of the Capital of Canada and it is hoped, ere long, will be the means of subjecting the whole Country to the British Dominion; and if so, this has been a greater acquisition to the British Empire than all that England has gained by Conquest since it was a nation, if I may except the conquest of Ireland in the reign of Henry II.'

Scots will be interested to note that the surrender of Quebec was made by the Governor, Monsieur de Ramsay, a man of Scottish ancestry and that the succeeding British Governor was also a Scot,

Brigadier Murray. The Heights and the Plains of Abraham, too, were named after one of Scots blood—Abraham Martin, the Scottish sailor, who piloted Cartier's ship with the first settlers who founded Quebec.

The sixth decade of the eighteenth century was a vital one in the creation of the British Empire, and these are a few of the outstanding events:—

June, 23rd, 1757. The Battle of PLASSEY, from which date British rule in India really began. Scottish regiments missed this, and the DORSETSHIRE REGIMENT (39th) shares the honour with no one else.

August 1st, 1759. The Battle of MINDEN. A resounding continental victory against the French.

September 13th, 1759. QUEBEC.

November 20th, 1759. Admiral Hawke's victory over the French fleet, at QUIBERON BAY, on the coast of Brittany. This removed the ever-present threat of an invasion of England, for some time, and more troops became available for overseas service.

This last victory draws attention to a point which 'Pongoes' (the Navy's name for soldiers) should not forget, that without the Royal Navy they would be sunk. In all overseas operations they have been dependent on its motherly care while at sea, and have relied on it for the safe arrival of all their supplies and reinforcements. The work of the 'Silent Service' has so often consisted of dull routine, just keeping ships at sea winter and summer, to guard shipping routes and harbours, keep watch on enemy squadrons, and escort convoys, that its importance is inclined to be overlooked. Its decisive battles have been relatively few in comparison with those of the Army, but scarcely one of these could ever have been fought without the Royal Navy's control of the seas. An example of what happens when this protection is not forthcoming was the loss of 500 of FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, in 1776. One transport sailed unsuspectingly into Boston harbour, after it had been occupied by Americans, and others were caught by American privateers.

Simultaneously with the exciting events in North America, other Scottish regiments were on service in Europe. The ROYAL NORTH BRITISH DRAGOONS (GREYS), the 3rd GUARDS (SG), the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB), the 87th KEITH'S HIGHLANDERS, and the 88th CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS, were in Germany during the SEVEN YEARS WAR, 1756–63.

The GREYS have a battle honour for 'WARBURG.' The 3rd GUARDS (SG), after taking part in some large-scale raids on St. Malo and Cherbourg from a base in the Isle of Wight in 1758, went to Germany under the command of Major-General Julius Caesar, and were

at VELLINGHAUSEN and WILHELMSTAL. The EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB) is one of that select company, the Minden Regiments, and was also present at WARBURG, CAMPEN, VELLINGHAUSEN and WILHELMSTAL, having previously been on active service on the Continent from 1746 to 1748, when they fought at Laffeldt and Bergen-op-Zoom.

By far the most memorable battles of the Seven Years War were MINDEN, 1759, a triumph of the Infantry which can never be forgotten, and WARBURG, where the Marquis of Granby led the famous charge, 'going for it bald-headed'.

Many nations were involved in the war, on one side England, Hanover and Prussia (these were the days of Frederick the Great who, incidentally, was not always successful), and on the other Austria, France, Russia, Saxony and Sweden.

At the battle of MINDEN (or Thorhausen) the British and Germans, about 41,000 strong, were commanded by Ferdinand of Brunswick (Cumberland having disgraced himself and left the Army) and faced a French army under Marshall Contades, 51,000 strong. Ferdinand, with 170 guns, had 8 more than the enemy.

The action cannot be described without giving the names of the other regiments which, in the words of Ferdinand, 'gained immortal glory'—the 12th, 20th, 23rd, 37th, and 51st regiments of Foot (SUFFOLK, L.F., R.W.F., R. HAMPS., and K.O.Y.L.I.). These, with the K.O.S.B. and three Hanoverian regiments, practically fought the battle on their own.

Owing to a certain amount of confusion on both sides in taking up battle stations in a congested area, the peculiar situation arose of the British Infantry, in the centre of the allied line, facing the French cavalry which, instead of being in rear of their line, had got into the centre, between wings composed of infantry. These in turn were faced by the cavalry formed up on the flanks of the allied line.

Further mistakes occurred; the six British and three Hanoverian regiments actually moved forward owing to an order which was misunderstood.

However, nothing mattered to them. For about 200 yards they marched through a cross-fire of over sixty guns, which made numerous gaps in their ranks. But these were closed up and on they went, straight towards the French cavalry, which numbered 10,000, in seventy-five squadrons formed in three lines, and were the pride of the French army.

The first line of cavalry seeing what they took to be, in modern slang, 'a piece of cake', charged the gun-shattered Infantry—that was what they thought! A wonderful and frightening sight—over 3,000 horsemen in all the splendour of French uniforms, advancing on them at full gallop, 12,000 hooves pounding the turf, swords

flashing, colours fluttering, men shouting. But these Infantry (with a capital 'I') halted in well dressed lines (KOSB in the centre of the second line), and stolidly awaited the onset in three ranks, the front rank kneeling and the other two standing.

They waited silently, while the huge body of cavalry thundered towards them. At forty yards they came up to the 'present'. At about twenty yards it looked as if a discharge of lightning struck the enemy—and the smoke rolled slowly over a shattered mass of men and horses.

The British and Germans reloaded with correct drill motions and marched on 'by sound of drum'.

Six times this act was repeated and only once did some Frenchmen get through the first line, to be destroyed by the second. Then the survivors were seen to 'give it up, as a thing that cannot be done. And rush rearward, hither and thither.'

This was not nearly all. Two brigades of French infantry then attacked and received similar treatment. Then a large body of Saxons was swept aside as the steady advance continued.

All the time cannonading went on vigorously, to and fro, on both sides of the marching regiments.

The moral effect of this seemingly irresistible progress was such that, as the British and Hanoverians came near the French battle line, their whole army disintegrated in confusion and streamed off the field, leaving many guns and other trophies to the victorious Infantry.

Meanwhile the GREYS, among the British cavalry, should have gone into action, and would have had a wonderful opportunity to cut off the enemy's retreat, as they had to cross several bridges over the Weser. But they were kept sitting still, chafing and cursing, while their commander, Lord Sackville, ignored four separate orders to advance, and then stopped Lord Granby, when he began to move the second line forward. Sackville was later court martialled and dismissed from the Army, but as the result of his behaviour, the French, though thoroughly beaten, got away. One wonders whether Granby should have put him under arrest and taken over the command.

The K.O.S.B. lost 100 killed and 154 wounded and, ever since, has been one of 'the Minden Regiments', which still hold annual celebrations and wear roses in their caps on the 1st August.

Brigadier Montagu Grant Wilkinson, in his book on the Lowland Regiments, said that Minden was the first battle in which British troops took correct aim at their man, as previously this had been considered too unchivalrous and they had fired without using the sights! (There was no backsight on those muskets.)

The GREYS and the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB) were together

again at WARBURG, 1760. There the former, in company with the 1st or ROYAL DRAGOONS and the 6th or the INNISKILLING DRAGOONS (the famous 'Union Brigade'), and nine other cavalry regiments, wiped out Sackville's disgrace (as far as it affected them) by a tremendously successful charge, under Granby, which broke up about 20,000 French troops and drove them off the battlefield.

The K.O.S.B. had 38 casualties, and some Highlanders, presumably KEITH'S AND CAMPBELL'S, are reported to have lost 415 men. They were in a special brigade, with Grenadier Companies of English regiments, under Colonel Beckwith. These regiments were also at KAMPEN, 1760, where there was 'a terrible and well-sustained musketry fire, which lasted until about nine at night without ceasing' (having begun at 5 a.m.). It ended by the Allies, with no ammunition, withdrawing, but fortunately the enemy was not in a fit state to follow up.

While the Seven Years War was in progress, other Scottish regiments—the ROYALS (RS) the CAMERONIANS, and the 42nd (BW) —were sent to the WEST INDIES, where a campaign was fought to dislodge the French and establish naval bases for the better control of the Atlantic. With the growth of the Empire sea power was becoming more and more vital and its commitments were spreading round the world. GUADALOUPE was taken, (1759), DOMINICA (1761), MARTINIQUE (1762), and HAVANNAH (1762). There was a considerable amount of fighting, but 'yellow fever' was the most destructive enemy and caused a great many casualties among all the troops sent to those otherwise pleasant tropical islands.

In 1763 peace came with the signing of the Treaty of Paris which, among other things, settled the future of Canada. General Murray became Governor, and the Military Government which had functioned since 1759, came to an end. There was soon quite an influx of ex-soldiers, who received grants of land and who mostly became good settlers and helped to give Canada the military tradition and the loyal service which became so necessary in the succeeding years. Among these was a good proportion of Scots. FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS and MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS were both disbanded in Canada in 1763 and the majority settled in Nova Scotia and New England. Great efforts were made to enable the French colonists to settle down under the new régime, by allowing them to restore their old systems of law and land tenure, and to continue their Militia organization. This, however, did not accomplish anything, except to annoy the colonists in the other American colonies.

KEITH'S and CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS were sent home to be disbanded at Perth and Linlithgow respectively. On their march from Tilbury they were billeted at Derby and were given a remarkable welcome by the inhabitants, whose town, eighteen years before, had

been occupied by Prince Charles's Highlanders. Evidently they had made a good impression—even as invaders. The people refused payment and went out of their way to provide every form of hospitality.

The 2nd ROYALS (RS) also came home and were stationed at Carlisle. The following year Ensign Thomas Byron of the 1st Battalion 3rd GUARDS (SG), complained that the EDINBURGH REGIMENT's (KOSB) recruiting parties, in Scotland, were outbidding theirs by offering higher 'bounties' to induce men to enlist. While at Newcastle-on-Tyne this regiment held a ceremony which is of unusual interest. The tattered colours which had been carried at Fontenoy, Culloden, Minden and several other battles, were given a military funeral and were buried at St. Nicholas' Church with full ceremonial, muffled drums, three volleys, etc. Old colours were usually treasured by the Commanding Officer, many of them later finding their way to the local church or cathedral.

The 1st ROYALS (RS) were in North America until 1763, and four companies were sent twice on expeditions against the Cherokee Indians, the other four being present at the surrender of Montreal.

The red men who acquired such a sinister glamour and provided material for so many exciting stories, were the aboriginal inhabitants of N. America and, quite naturally, resented the intrusion of the 'pale-faced' people who, if not exterminated, would take their hunting grounds from them and subjugate them to a system of civilized life which did not in the least appeal to them. The Europeans who, at that time, were enormously outnumbered, either had to treat them as dangerous wild beasts, or make friends with them. In fact, their love of fighting induced many of them to join the British or French as irregular troops—very irregular—and if opportunities for looting and scalp-collecting fell below expectations, they usually deserted.

There were many tribes of Indians (so named by Columbus who thought he had reached India), and all appear to have had the same main characteristics. Their lives were mainly occupied with hunting and, from this, they had acquired the keen sight and hearing, the stealth and ability to use cover, of a jungle animal, as well as its toughness. Like a jaguar, they would remain invisible until the moment for the kill; and the screech of a nightjar in the woods round a settler's shack at dead of night, might equally well be the rallying call for a murderous attack. Often by day an arrow would twang from the hidden depths of the bush, and the victim's companions (if any) could only judge the enemy's position by noticing on which side of his body the feathered shaft protruded. Then there might be more arrows or bullets to come from many directions, followed by a rush with tomahawk and scalping knife.

As with the majority of the human race, the Indians could outdo any animal, except perhaps the cat, in sheer cruelty and sadism, but, amazing as it sounds, the torture of prisoners was actually in the nature of a compliment. From childhood Indians were brought up to be tough and, to this end, burns and cuts and many other forms of discomfort were inflicted as part of their normal schooling. They had such a high regard for physical endurance that a captured 'warrior' would rather show his ability to suffer than be left unmolested, as the lack of such opportunity would imply contempt by his captors.

There is a story of a European prisoner, who felt that he could not face up to their tortures. Knowing their gullibility as regards magic, he asked to be allowed to show them a plant in the forest, from which a 'medicine' could be made, which would nullify the effect of a blow with an axe. The Indians, all agog, but taking no chances, allowed him to procure the plant and produce the medicine, which he suggested they should try on him. He knelt down, with outstretched neck, to which he had applied the medicine. An Indian took a powerful swing and—struck off his head. A sad story, but he did avoid being tortured.

The scalp was the normal trophy, exactly as a pair of horns or antlers is to a modern big game hunter. They decorated their half-naked bodies with the feathers and skins of their kills and they produced ferocious effects by the use of war-paint.

The Indians' hatred of the British in some districts was due to the latter allowing scurrilous types of traders to swindle and ill-treat them, while the French, with more idea of an empire policy, ingratiated, by seeing that their traders treated them well and gave them subsidized presents.

In 1763 a widespread simultaneous massacre of the British was organized by Pontiac, the powerful and influential chief of the Ottawas, and came near to success. At least eight fortified settlements were overrun, and the surviving soldiers, settlers and families were immediately slaughtered, except those who were specially reserved for torture. Large numbers of settlers in the outlying districts were dealt with in the same way, and burned out shacks, and pigs and vermin feeding on the remains of the victims were a common sight. The larger forts, crowded with refugees to a state of mass squalor, were besieged by Indians, who, incidentally, knew the art of digging 'fox-holes' for cover and used incendiary arrows to fire the wooden buildings.

After one or two unsatisfactory efforts to deal with the menace, an expedition was sent by General Amherst to the relief of FORT PITT (Fort Duquesne in the days of Braddock). It was commanded by Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss 'soldier of fortune' in the British

Army, and incidentally, a very efficient officer, and consisted of detachments of the ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT (BW) and MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS, and six companies of Rangers.

He had the right men for the job, as no troops were better qualified than the Highlanders and the Rangers to match the Indians. With centuries of raiding and guerilla warfare behind them, the Highlanders had the alertness and toughness and the instinct for taking cover, of the enemy and, incidentally, there was little to choose in vocal ferocity between the Highland slogans, in a charge, and the war-whoops of the Indians.

Even so, things did not go well. The forests swarmed with redskins, but they were so mobile that there was never an opportunity to strike at any large number of them. As on the N.W. Frontier of India in later times, when troops reached the top of a hill whence they had been fired on, there was not a living thing in sight.

The enemy's game was to lead them on slowly until they exhausted their supplies, and they might have succeeded but for Bouquet's handling of the situation at Bushy Run, about twenty-five miles from Fort Pitt, when things were looking extremely black.

His carefully organized scheme led the Indians to believe that his troops were in full retreat, whereupon they abandoned their usual caution and rushed in to perpetrate a most satisfying massacre.

But, in their excitement, they had not noticed two Companies of Highlanders ambushed along their route. When they were well inside the trap, the Highlanders let them have it, and the main body also turned on them—at last a reversal of the Braddock affair. Thousands of screaming savages were thus herded in and slaughtered (not without heavy loss to the British), and the Indian problem in that part of the country was settled for some considerable time.

In 1770 an apparently small incident occurred on the other side of the world, when Captain Cook, R.N., landed on the East coast of a huge, practically unknown continent and, with a small guard of honour, solemnly hoisted the Union Jack and annexed it. From this almost absurd beginning grew the vast dominion of Australia. The first settlement was founded eight years later at Sydney Cove, now Port Jackson, New South Wales, and, as usual, the homeloving man with a wanderlust—the Scot, soon appeared on the scene. As one result some more Scottish regiments will come into this story later on.

But, for the next few years, N. America remained the focal point of Empire building—and bungling. The news from that country consisted mainly of reports of seething discontent among a section of the colonists, caused in part by the aloofness from reality and the obtuse pomposity of the British Government. But the Colonists, on

their side, were not blameless. Permanent garrisons, amounting to about 10,000 troops were needed for security in America. As they were not forthcoming locally, the burden fell on the Home Government which, not unnaturally, considered that the Colonists ought to contribute towards the expense. But, though they did not dispute the logic of this view, they were unable to agree among themselves on making an offer of payment, and when the Government tried to settle the matter by taxation, they immediately became 'airborne' with indignation. Agitators worked on the true cause of the trouble —a rising desire for independence, and turned the grievance into a political one, that it was unlawful to tax men who had no representatives in Parliament. The Home Government, instead of trying to meet this point, became more unsympathetic and the situation rapidly deteriorated.

How the split came between Canada and the other colonies does not seem very clear, but it was in the South where 'a number of states united in a confederacy and declared themselves independent', on 4th July, 1776, while in the North the British colonists remained loyal.

In the New England states a considerable number of the colonists, or their ancestors, had emigrated mainly on account of dissatisfaction with life in their own countries—German Protestants, French Huguenots, refugees from Eastern Europe, Irish, and so forth. Their one idea had been to make new homes far away and forget the past and, in the wide lands of America, they had formed independent and aggressively self-reliant settlements, and bitterly resented any outside interference.

To many of these people the British Government seemed only to be taking the place of those tyrranical institutions they had left behind, so loyalty to Britain was hardly to be expected from them. Conversely the idea of complete independence from Europe, which appealed strongly to them all, produced cohesion and a flaming national spirit, where hitherto there had been clannish aloofness between the various groups.

In Canada there was a more organized form of government—partly built on the old French system, and many of the colonists were ex-soldiers of British regiments, and their families. However, many of the French Canadians, still resentful of a foreign government, were openly disloyal, while in the Southern states there were so many loyalists that the Congress could, at first, only get a majority of one vote, for the Declaration of Independence. These people became known as 'the United Empire Loyalists' and suffered great injustice and humiliation from the Independence Party and from their disloyal neighbours—so much so that many thousands of them removed during and after the war, to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick

and Upper Canada, and most of their young men served against the Americans.

The Scots, with their strong national instincts and attachment to to their homeland, had no doubts at all. Both in Canada and at home they came forward willingly to form new regiments. To do them justice, as their Jacobite sympathies gradually faded, they, and especially the Highlanders, became, and have remained, as loyal and as enthusiastic for military service as any of the people in the Empire. But it took some years for old prejudices to die in England, and for this fact to be appreciated. Pitt ably described the situation in a speech in parliament in 1766 but, as it has already been quoted in nearly every book on this subject, repetition is unnecessary.

It would take too much space to describe the formation of all the new regiments, many of which were disbanded after a life of only four or five years. Some of the principal Highland families which took leading parts in the recruiting were those of McLeod, Argyll, Gordon, Seaforth and MacDonald, and the chief cities of Scotland all helped. There was an influx of recruits throughout the Highlands, and *The Scots Magazine* said that 65,000 enlisted.

In England there was no such enthusiasm. A number of officers resigned their commissions, rather than serve against the colonists, and there was a general feeling of indignation against the government.

FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS were revived, this time as the 71st, with two battalions and they and the 42nd (BW) sailed from Greenock in April 1776. Incidentally, it may not be generally known that this regiment wore a red hackle in N. America, before it became the special prerogative of the 42nd—Lt.-Colonel Maitland and Washington had known each other before the war, and when it was reported that Washington (now on the enemy side) had remarked on the efficiency of FRASER'S, the Colonel sent him a message saying that in order to prevent his overlooking any further exploits of the regiment, they would wear red feathers in their bonnets and so enable him to pick them out easily.

The 73rd, LORD MCLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS, raised in 1777, became, after Fraser's were disbanded, the 71st, and in 1881, the 1st HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY. One example of the keenness of the Scots was the case of Philip Melville, aged sixteen, who was offered a commission if he could bring in one Highland recruit for each year of his age. As he did not speak Gaelic and had not been living in the Highlands, this seemed something of a task for such a young lad. But he managed it and became an officer in the 73rd. Lord McLeod (Ian Mackenzie) had, himself, returned from service in Sweden, to raise this regiment and, in the second battalion, which went to Gibraltar, there were nineteen officers with the name of Mackenzie.

(Sorting the mail for these regiments must have been quite a difficult job.)

The 84th, ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS, raised in Canada in 1778, was the first Canadian regiment composed entirely of Scots, mostly ex-soldiers of FRASER'S, MONTGOMERY'S and the 42nd. There were two battalions, both raised by Lt.-Colonel Allan McLean. The 1st was commanded by him and the 2nd by a 42nd officer, Major John Small. The men, many of whom lived in backwoods districts where roads were almost non-existent and hostile colonists barred their way, had great difficulty in reaching their assembly points.

To return to the cause of this revival of Highland militarism. A considerable force was now in America, composed of English and Scots colonists, German mercenaries, and Indians. The employment of the two last types noticeably increased the bitterness of the Americans.

Trouble began when Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, tried to destroy an arms depot at LEXINGTON and his troops met the resistance of the colonists by opening fire. (It was reported that the war was started by a Scot—Major Pitcairn—whose pistol-shot 'was heard round the world'.) Then Howe's attack on BUNKER'S HILL, from which they menaced Boston, resulted in an action which showed up the advantages held by irregulars against the European tactics of regular troops. The British regiments, in their usual close formation, charged with great determination and bravery, but twice the assault failed with murderous losses. The third time they succeeded against the well-entrenched colonists, but their two previous failures gave a surprising feeling of confidence and enthusiasm to the Americans.

After this Gage felt himself unable to cope, which was the antithesis of the effect on the Americans, and was succeeded by General Howe under whose leadership there followed a satisfactory spell for the British. He forced the enemy to evacuate NEW YORK and BROOKLYN, beat them at WHITE PLAINS and took Fort Washington and Fort Lee.

The 42nd took part in the storming of FORT WASHINGTON, which stood on precipitous cliffs, making the battle somewhat reminiscent of the taking of Quebec. History also repeated itself in Major Murray, an oversize officer, who needed a fatigue party to haul him up heavy gradients. He was nearly left behind at one stage of the assault, but managed to attract attention by his despairing shouts, which brought immediate volunteers back to his assistance.

At this stage a vigorous policy could have won the war, but Howe made the blunder of leaving the Americans unmolested to organize stronger forces, while he followed Julius Ceasar's custom of 'going into winter quarters', and from then the whole aspect changed.

The next important event was a serious disaster, for which blame has been assigned to Lord Germaine (alias Lord Sackville, the miscreant of Minden), now Secretary of State. General Burgoyne, commanding the Northern force, at Ticonderoga, went home (leaving his command in the middle of the war) to take his seat in parliament, and while in London he produced a plan which appeared to have good possibilities. This, however, depended on careful timing and co-operation with General Howe. But here Lord Germaine came in, as the antique and cumbersome system of those days meant that orders involving important strategic plans had to be issued from London.

The absurdity of this system can be better appreciated when it is realized that sailing ships were the only means of communication and, if the weather was bad, the voyage across the Atlantic, in one direction only, might take up to a couple of months. During this long delay it was quite likely that the whole situation might have changed.

The essence of Burgoyne's plan was that Howe should advance from the south, up the Hudson River valley, and join forces with him at Albany, which would have the effect of cutting off the New England states, which were the seat of the trouble, from the remainder. But Germaine failed to co-ordinate the scheme and Burgoyne advanced while Howe was given orders to clean up Pennsylvania. He fought a very successful battle at BRANDYWINE RIVER, in which the 42nd and men of the 3rd GUARDS took part (in the Guards Composite Brigade) and then, ignorant of Burgoyne's efforts, he settled down for the winter in Philadelphia.

Burgoyne's advance was an unhappy one from the beginning, pestered by thousands of snipers and beset by ambushes, broken bridges and road-blocks, and raids on his baggage and supplies. To add to the discomforts, this was in October, when the N. American winter was setting in, with cold weather and long nights, during which there was little rest from the guerillas.

To cut short the dismal account, as he advanced further, the enemy put in heavier forces and finally, when he reached SARATOGA SPRINGS, he became completely surrounded. His troops fought excellently and endured all the hardships willingly, but after a few more days of desperate defensive action, starvation forced a surrender. At the end Burgoyne had only 3,500 fit men against 18,000 Americans. In this unfortunate column was the ROYAL NORTH BRITISH FUSILIERS (RSF) which, with the 20th (LANCASHIRE FUSILIERS), and the 62nd (WILTSHIRE REGIMENT), took the brunt of the fighting at FREEMAN'S FARM and suffered very heavily then and during the following days which preceded the surrender. After the sorrowful ceremony of burning the colours, the survivors became

prisoners of war and the regiment ceased to exist, until it was reconstituted about five years later.

Brigadier Simon Fraser was killed at Saratoga, and the Americans fired on his funeral party, probably in ignorance of its purpose, but the incident caused much bitterness.

From then on, things went from bad to worse, until blockade by land and sea (this was France's contribution, and Spain also joined in), caused the surrender of Cornwallis at YORKTOWN in 1781, in which FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS (76th), and some of the 3rd GUARDS also became prisoners of war.

This was the end of a long and laborious campaign, in which the troops had fought well and worked well, and in no way deserved its discreditable result. Reinforcements had been scarce owing to its unpopularity at home and the general feeling that it should never have been fought. No battle honours were granted, as it was regarded as a civil war.

The 3rd GUARDS' (SG) contingent fought in a number of actions besides Brandywine, including some where they were used as Marines. Owing to the prevalence of sniping (a fairly new development in warfare), officers and sergeants were ordered to remove their gold lace and substitute white, arranged as on the Guardsmen's uniforms, and to carry fusils, instead of swords and halberds. (Yet in 1914 officers went to France in uniforms which were quite easily distinguishable from those of other ranks, and even carried swords.)

In 1782 the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB) underwent a peculiar transformation and became the SUSSEX REGIMENT until 1805. The mystery has two possible explanations; either it was due to are quest from the Duke of Richmond (brother of the Commanding Officer, Lord George Lennox), whose principal residence was at Goodwood, Sussex; or another version is that Lennox himself asked for the change of title, in dudgeon at the behaviour of the Edinburgh magistrates who, in contravention of the regiment's ancient privilege, vetoed recruiting by a party he had sent up from the South of England. (This privilege, however, was not allowed to lapse.)

The ROYALS (RS) continued to have success with their recruiting and enlisted one Sam McDonald, who was 6 ft. 10 in. in height and proportionately strong. There are several amusing anecdotes about him, but probably the best one is the story of how, when posted as a night sentry at the barracks, with only a dismounted gun to protect, he marched into the guard-room with it over his shoulder, saying he could watch over it just as well in there, as standing outside in the cold. Sam later returned to the SUTHERLAND FENCIBLES where he had a better time gastronomically as the Duchess allowed him 2/6 a day for extra food.

After the War of American Independence, the whole system in

N. America was changed. The United States, now an independent country, entirely separated from Canada, remained for some years a hostile neighbour. With the additional menaces of the Indians and the disaffected French settlers, Canada was for long a very insecure country.

The defence of Upper Canada (now the Province of Ontario) in 1782 was mainly entrusted to 'PROVINCIAL CORPS', such as BUTLER'S, JESSUP'S and ROGERS' RANGERS, a few German mercenaries, described by the Governor as 'only the refuse of those who accompanied General Burgoyne', and the sketchy beginnings of the Canadian Militia. One of the District Commanders reported on them as 'far from being respectable' and 'arms bad', but apparently their spirit was good, as later on in 1795, Governor Simcoe said, 'The British Militia, to a man, on the first appearance of hostilities, have avowed the most determined loyalty.'

About 1783 the disbanding of a number of regiments coincided with a considerable amount of organized settlement, and among those given grants of land (usually virgin forest) was a strong Scottish element.

Of the two battalions of the 84th ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS, one settled in Nova Scotia in a district to which they gave the name of Douglas, and the other in the area which became the Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, along the north side of the St. Lawrence. This had been set apart for 'United Empire Loyalists' and became a sort of little Scotland.

Many Scots from JOHNSON'S REGIMENT, who came originally from Mohawk Valley, N.Y., settled in Lancaster, Charlottenburg, and Cornwall.

In addition men of all British regiments were encouraged to become settlers, if they could find substitutes to replace them, and, strangely enough in the circumstances, men from the United States were preferred for this purpose.

The organization of these settlements had a semi-military character, as the grants of land were usually in blocks, situated in strategic localities and care was taken to include a suitable proportion of officers, who were given positions of authority. It was thought, quite rightly, that besides being desirable settlers, these communities would soon improvize their own defence.

A number of Scots who, during the war, had become isolated in the United States, banded together in parties and made their way North to join their compatriots. They suffered great hardships on their long journies on foot and, at times, had to fight to get through, but they were determined not to remain under what had now become a condition of exile. Many of them were descendants of Jacobites, who had been transported to the Southern plantations after Culloden,

and among their company was Flora MacDonald, who had helped Prince Charles to escape in 1745. Despite the events of the past, their one idea was to join up as soldiers.

Further migrations of Scots occurred between 1780 and 1790, owing to the unsatisfactory conditions at home, where small farmers were losing their holdings as a result of changes in the organization of many of the Highland estates, which were causing much poverty and discontent.

These bad conditions also, indirectly, caused the formation of a regiment of Highlanders, recruited from these 'displaced persons' under the auspices of a militant priest—Father Alexander Macdonell (later Bishop of Kingston, Ontario). This was the GLENGARRY FENCIBLE REGIMENT, composed entirely of Roman Catholics. After many vicissitudes which, though interesting, would take too much space to recount, the majority of these men settled in Glengarry County in 1804, where they named their farms after those on which they had lived in Glengarry, Scotland. The County is still a Clan Donald stronghold and these soldiers were some of the ancestors of the present STORMONT, DUNDAS and GLENGARRY HIGHLANDERS of Cornwall, Ontario, who wear the Macdonell of Glengarry tartan. It was in Glengarry (Canada) that the 'fiery cross' method of mobilizing was used for the last time, to repel Americans in 1812, and Glengarry Militiamen had the honour of being asked to train British Regulars in forest fighting at about the same time.

Many modern Canadians, some in high places, trace their descent from those military settlers who, with their fighting spirit, their unshakeable loyalty and the good discipline and manners of trained soldiers, contributed so much to the security and progress of Canada.

The large number of Scottish regiments now in the Canadian Army is proof of the way in which Scots, living abroad preserve their nationality and their old customs and dress, as well as retaining their ancient military traditions.

CHAPTER IV · 1778-99

HIGHLAND REGIMENTS. FENCIBLES.
YEOMANRY. INDIA. NAPOLEONIC WARS

In the history of the British Army—and some of the Scottish regiments took part in nearly all its campaigns—events occurred simultaneously in many parts of the world. So, as it is impossible to concentrate attention on N. America, India, the Mediterranean, etc., all at the same moment, some lapses in chronological order become inevitable.

It is now necessary to go back to 1778, when two battalions of the 73rd, McLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS (HLI) had been raised, equipped and given some training. The 1st Battalion was posted to the East India Company's forces and departed by sea on the long voyage round the Cape. Troopships in those days had little resemblance to modern luxury liners; troops and families were packed into decks too low for a man to stand upright, with no furniture, no space and no privacy, and it does not take much effort to imagine the discomfort and squalor when the small sailing ships pitched and wallowed in heavy seas. The longer the voyage, the worse the food became—more weevils in the flour, salter meat, worse-smelling water (always limited to a 'desert' ration) and harder cheese (the Navy made masthead trucks out of some and it stood up to the job as well as oak!) There were no vegetables or fruit except for a few days after calling at St. Helena (a British possession since 1651), or other ports *en route*. India was very far away then, and prospects of returning seemed very remote, but they were tough in those days and took it all as it came, and the crowded decks were enlivened with many a 'crack'—often quite unprintable.

The 1/73rd had many exciting and tragic events ahead of them, away beyond the Indian Ocean, and soon it came to the turn of the 2/73rd to embark, destination 'Gib' or 'The Rock'. This voyage was not without interest and did not go according to plan, as things seldom do on active service. The French and Spaniards were besieging Gibraltar, hoping that Britain was too much occupied elsewhere to be able to hold it. But 'Gib' was the guard-house of the

Mediterranean, and Sir George Eliott ('the old cock of the Rock') had no idea of giving it up.

The Highlanders arrived in time to take part in the last thirteen months of GIBRALTAR'S THIRD SIEGE, which lasted from 1779 to 1783. During this period they went out on an important raid which captured a Spanish battery, and saw the final spectacular attempt by the besiegers. This was witnessed by many of the fashionable people of Paris and Madrid, who arrived in coaches and chaises and on horseback, and took up grandstand positions on the neighbouring hills. It might have been a bull-fight they had come to see, but the show was disappointing.

At enormous trouble and expense, ten great floating batteries had been constructed, which were moved in, to bombard the garrison at pointblank range, preparatory to a general assault, after which there were to be great celebrations.

Every one of the batteries was set on fire and sunk by red-hot shot fired from the British guns, and enemy morale, which had been nearing exhaustion, was thus further damaged to such an extent that, soon afterwards, the siege was given up as a hopeless job.

The battalion was disbanded in 1783, but this service earned for the regiment the Castle and Key, now borne on the Colours of the HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY. (An American artist, Colonel John Turnbull, studying under Benjamin West in London, painted, in 1783, a picture of the attack on the Spanish battery, in which appears an Ensign of the 2/73rd, showing clear details of the uniform.)

Before going on to the experiences of the 1/73rd in India, the births of more Highland regiments in Scotland claim attention. In the Highlands there was still a reserve of excellent fighting men and the army was still too small for its many jobs, so in addition to the short-lived regiments, which have been mentioned, the remainder of the permanent regular Highland regiments were all raised between 1778 and 1800.

The next in order was the 78th, SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS, (from 1786 the 72nd) (1/SEAFORTH). The 5th Earl of Seaforth was one of those noblemen whose enthusiasm during 'the 15' had lost him his estates and his title. But his grandson, who was permitted to resume the title in 1771, to show there was no longer any ill feeling, offered to raise a regiment. This he did, at Elgin in 1778, and the 78th was ordered to India the same year, but was diverted to the Channel Islands, where they beat off a minor French invasion, and rounded up a raiding party at St. Helier. The men were mostly Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross and Redcastle, and there was a large contingent of Macraes from Kintail, of whom more will be heard. Very confusingly, the regiment which later became

the 2nd SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS, was also raised as the 78th, in 1793, from the Mackenzie estates in Ross-shire and the Hebrides.

Next, in order of seniority, came the 2/BW, raised in 1780, which became a separate regiment, as the 73rd FOOT, in 1786. This was mainly a Macleod regiment, and was raised by Norman Macleod, 20th Chief of Harris (later Lieut.-General).

The 74th HIGHLAND REGIMENT (2/HLI) was raised in 1787 and its Colonel was Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, who had served in FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS. Both battalions of HLI and Seaforth originally wore the 42nd tartan, but later they evolved their own sett by adding over-stripes of red and white, which they called 'the Mackenzie-MacLeod' tartan. Now known simply as 'Mackenzie', it is also worn by many of the Dominion units.

In 1787 also, the 75th HIGHLAND REGIMENT (1/GORDONS), was raised in the county of Stirling, and in 1793 Alan Cameron of Erracht, of the family of Lochiel, whose ancestors had fought in both 'the 15' and 'the 45', and who had served, with many adventures, in the ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS, raised the 79th CAMERONIAN VOLUNTEERS (later CAMERONS). Owing to its original title, this regiment is sometimes confused with the Cameronians. In two months he recruited 750 men from Lochaber and marched to Stirling, his pipers playing 'Gabhaidh Sinn An Rathaid Mor' (We'll Take the High Road). The regimental tartan, known as 'Cameron of Erracht' is a MacDonald sett minus three red lines, with the yellow over-stripe from the Cameron sett, generally believed to have been devised by Cameron's mother—a MacLean, but more probably by his grandmother who was a MacDonald.

Next came the 98th ARGYLLSHIRE HIGHLANDERS (later 91st). This regiment (now 1/A & S) was raised by the Duke of Argyll in 1794 and a condition was that it had to reach a strength of 1,102 officers and other ranks within three months. The 'bounty' for O.R.'s (which varied according to the balance at the treasury and the difficulty of obtaining recruits, on each occasion) was £5 5s. The officers came mostly from Argyll, seventeen of them having the name of Campbell, but a large number of men came from Edinburgh and Glasgow. The tartan worn was the 42nd sett.

In the same year the 100th HIGHLAND REGIMENT (later 92nd) now 2/GORDONS was raised by the Duke of Gordon and commanded by his son, the Marquis of Huntly, who had served in the 42nd, and the 3rd GUARDS (SG). This was the fourth regiment raised by the Gordon family, whose estates extended right across Scotland, from Speymouth on the east, to the shores of Loch Eil. (The previous ones were the 89th HIGHLANDERS, 1759–65, and two regiments of GORDON FENCIBLES, raised in 1778 and 1793.)

The story of how the Duchess used her personal charm to attract

recruits is well-known. A kiss from her was something for a highlander to remember all his life and, later on, men were heard to say to the wounded, 'Dinna forget, lad, ye got a kiss frae the Duchess for that.' One young farmer was 'smart' with her—took the kiss and paid a pound 'smart money' (the penalty for a recruit who went back on his promise to enlist), saying he was well pleased with the bargain.

The regiment actually enlisted more MacDonalds and Camerons than Gordons, and nearly every clan was represented in the rolls. The name was only intended to show that it had been raised by the Duke of Gordon.

The Gordon tartan is not a Clan one, but was designed for the GORDON FENCIBLES, and William Forsyth, a manufacturer of Aberdeen, wrote on 15 April 1793:

"When I had the honour of communing with His Grace The Duke of Gordon, he was desirous to have paterns of the 42nd. Regiment plaid, with a small yellow stripe properly placed. Enclosed three paterns of the 42nd. plaid, all having yellow stripes. From this I hope His Grace will fix on some of the three stripes. When the plaids are worn, the yellow stripes will be square and regular. I imagine the yellow stripes will appear very lively."

The last of the regular Highland regiments to come on to the scene was the 93rd SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS, now 2/A & S, raised in 1800, and the circumstances of its recruitment are very interesting. The methods, used then for the last time, were on the lines of the ancient feudal system. First a census was made of all suitable men on the estates of the Countess of Sutherland and notice went round that a proportion of them would be expected to do their duty to their Chief and to the King, by enlisting. Major-General William Wemyss (nephew of the deceased Earl) then held a meeting in each parish, at which the eligible men were lined up for his inspection. Passing along the ranks, snuff-box in hand, followed by a gillie bearing a supply of whisky, he offered snuff to each man who took his fancy. The selected recruit took a pace forward, received his snuff and his 'dram', while the clerk entered his name, and no one doubted the legality of the procedure. The men then returned home and carried on their normal work and later, when the call-up came, every man was on parade—not one absentee.

This behaviour was in the old tradition and showed that devotion to the Chief had not ceased to exist after 'the '45'. The 93rd must have been more a 'family regiment' than any other, as officers and men had nearly all been near neighbours as civilians, in fact very similar to one of the old Clan regiments. In a unit like this the 'team spirit' was ready-made and it is well described in the following quotation (from 'The 93rd Digest of Service, 1800'):

"For in such a regiment not only did each individual feel accountable for his

own character, but in some degree for the conduct of his comrades; and as, in order to increase wholesome rivalship between the different Companies of the Battalion, they were at first classified by parishes, an arrangement which naturally excited the greatest emulation, it followed that every soldier became speedily convinced that by behaving ill he should not only be covered with personal disgrace, but would in some measure bring dishonour to the parish to which he, in common with all his comrades in the same Company with himself, belonged."

This outlook accords exactly with the best traditions of the Army and it is obviously responsible for the many statements, in records of campaigns, &c., regarding the small amount of 'crime' in Highland regiments. It is an asset, military and otherwise, which is worth every effort to preserve and, though the Clan and the parish are no longer so important, the same sense of collective pride and responsibility remains with the Highlander, in Scotland, Canada, South Africa, or wherever he may have migrated.

By 1800 the 'team' of permanent, regular, Scottish regiments was complete (as far as Scotland was concerned), and no more units of this type were ever raised. A great improvement on the old system of raising new regiments and disbanding them after a war, was the formation of extra or 'service' battalions of existing regiments. These, of course, only experienced the same temporary form of life but, at least, they had a 'parent' unit, which could usually provide some officers and N.C.O.'s, who were able to pass on the regimental spirit and to mould them on the lines of the old regiment.

In addition to the regulars and the temporary regiments and battalions, some mention must be made of the FENCIBLES, forty-two regiments, raised and disbanded between 1759 and 1802. There is not space to name them all, but they were temporary regular regiments similar to the Service Battalions but not, like them, battalions of permanent regiments. They undertook various forms of service, some for the defence of Scotland, some for service in the United Kingdom, and a few even signed on for foreign service. They came into existence at periods when the menace of French invasions stirred the imagination, but after 1803, when one would think an invasion was more imminent than at any time previously, they were not revived. In Scotland, where there was no Militia, they formed the only second line and Scotsmen being more militarily minded than English 'shopkeepers', they probably took the job seriously; not like the Cambridge Militia who were seen in 1794, wandering along a road in the same formation as a flock of sheep, with officers seated in chaises, trotting on ahead, or straggling behind! Quite a number of the Scottish Fencibles evidently liked soldiering as, when disbanded, they enlisted in the regular regiments which were being raised at that time.

Towards the end of the century another force made its appearance—the YEOMANRY CAVALRY, which had a character of its own and maintained considerable independence right up to the twentieth century. The Scottish regiments naturally came from the Lowland country and were composed of land-owners and tenant farmers, who usually rode their own horses. After the earliest stage as 'Provisional Cavalry', which wore a green Light Dragoon's outfit, they designed their own uniforms, unfettered by regulations, and produced splendid as well as bizarre effects. The purpose of their existence was Home Defence and, generally speaking, they did not see any active service until the South African War of 1899–1902, when they sent contingents to the Imperial Yeomanry. The AYRSHIRE YEOMANRY were raised in 1793, three regiments were raised in the LOTHIAN and BERWICKSHIRE country in 1797, the FIFE and FORFAR REGIMENTS about 1794, the GLASGOW LIGHT HORSE, 1796, and the LANARKSHIRE UPPER WARD YEOMANRY in 1819.

It is perhaps more convenient to complete the story of the organization of the various Scottish Forces at this point, though it covers a number of years, rather than to break into the world-wide events of this period, at odd moments, to describe the raising of each regiment separately. Now to return to 1780, with the palm trees and 'spicy garlic smells' and the dust and sweat of India.

The 1/73rd (HLI) was the first Highland regiment to serve in India. They landed at Madras, and their kilts and the music of their pipes caused much chattering and gesticulating among the natives who crowded the narrow streets to watch their arrival. There was considerable speculation (in a land where some of the women wore trousers, and some of the men napkins, or 'dhotis') about their sex, but, on seeing them at close quarters, this point became almost irrelevant—they were soldiers anyhow and, by the look of them, formidable ones. But the pipes were a problem for the natives. Some of the sounds they emitted had just a faint similarity to their own instruments, e.g. the snake-charmers' pipes, but these had a strange and warlike skirl—no doubt some eccentricity of the 'Sahiblog', and 'tomorrow' they would find out more.

On their side, the lads from Scotland, used to the grey streets of Glasgow or the misty freshness of the Highlands, were intrigued to the core by the teeming masses of oddly assorted humanity, dressed in all the colours of the spectrum, or almost completely undressed. It was all interesting and amusing—strange trees, monkeys, temple-bells, palaces with mud hovels huddling round them, shopkeepers lying fanning themselves, while sacred cattle munched among unheardof varieties of fruit, or dragged at the straw roofs of their 'shops' whose only support was a couple of crazily-leaning bamboo sticks. Elephants and laden camels, and two-wheeled

carriages nonchalantly driven at a trot through solid masses of people all added to their enjoyment. But that never-to-be-forgotten smell—an anonymous blend of garbage, spices, wood-smoke, and unwashed bodies—needed getting used to, and the sun was hot on their backs and no one had then thought of such an unsoldierly dress as 'shirt-sleeves order'.

Before long they had to abandon the belted plaid (which must have been rather over-doing it, in India) and replace it with white cotton trousers—to them a serious affront, which caused a good deal of muttering. One might have thought the small kilt would have been excellent for the hot weather, but then there were the mosquitoes and other biters, so perhaps the authorities were right.

But very soon more serious matters demanded attention. There was to be no idle drowsing in tropical shade for them, but 'battle, murder, and sudden death' was the order, plus plenty of hard work.

The political situation scarcely concerns this story but, very briefly, to explain the cause of the fighting, this was the position. The East India Company (formed in 1599 and known as 'John Company') was gradually establishing the Indian Empire (which, as was usual with British acquisitions, originated from a trading enterprise) among a miscellany of States which had grown up and devoured one another since the decay of the Moghul Empire. France, also as usual, was a rival and, not having been successful by direct action, was following the twentieth-century Russian pattern, by intriguing with any powerful Rajahs who would respond and training their forces to fight against the British. The latter retaliated by backing up States hostile to those under French influence and, in this case, we were on the side of Travancore against Haider Ali (who died in 1782), Sultan of Mysore, and his son, Tippoo Sahib. (Why 'sahib', which is roughly the equivalent of 'Mister' and applied to anyone above the lower castes, should have been always tacked on to his name, remains a minor mystery.)

Fighting in the South of India continued, on and off, until 1799 and, during that time, the 73rd (1/HLI), later joined by the 74th (2/HLI) earned five battle honours—'Carnatic', 'Sholingur', 'Mysore', 'Hindustan' and 'Seringapatam'.

Other Scottish regiments came out at various times. The 72nd (1/SEAFORTH), had a slight misunderstanding at Edinburgh, before they embarked. 'The wild Macraes', a number of whom had enlisted in the regiment, refused to go overseas and spent several days in mutinous dudgeon on Arthur's Seat. Apparently seclusion on the heights (and perhaps not having even 'the unexpired portion' of a ration remaining) made them see the folly of their ways. The whole matter was settled by diplomacy, with 'no victimization' and they

reached India without further trouble, but Lord Seaforth, their Colonel, and a number of men died on the voyage from illness. Travel in troopships in those days was not a health-giving occupation and lack of vegetables frequently produced scurvy.

The method of dealing with the Macraes brings out a point of difference between the Scottish and English regiments of that period. In English regiments discipline was stern, and had to be, on account of the considerable number of gaol-birds and other doubtful characters who were enlisted to fill the gaps, and English people, as they have shown many times, are among the most amenable to discipline in the world. The Highlander was a different type of man, with a very independent spirit and under the Clan system he had always had the right to take his grievances to the Chief who would discuss them with him on a friendly footing. In Highland regiments practically every man was there of his own choice and, soldiering being considered the most honourable profession, it was not beneath the dignity of a Highland gentleman to serve in the ranks. So discipline, there, was a matter of respect for the regiment and the families represented in it, rather than of fear of punishment, and Commanding Officers took this background into consideration in their dealings with their men.

The 75th (1/GORDONS) served in India from 1787 to 1807—twenty years, and returned home with a strength of only fourty-four O.R.'s. This, however, was probably at least partly due to the custom, when a regiment went home, of allowing men to volunteer to be drafted to other units remaining in India. The 78th (2/SEAFORTH), arrived in India in 1797 and remained there until 1811, when they went to Java. The 2/42nd (BW) which later became the 73rd, completed the party from Scotland, and took part in a number of actions, earning particular credit for the defence of MANGALORE, for about nine months. Under 2,000 men, including 1,500 sepoys[1], were besieged by Tippoo's followers whose strength was put at 90,000, with about eighty guns. In the end, after having eaten all the 'pi-dogs' and most of the carrion hawks in the neighbourhood and being reduced to about half their original strength, they were forced to surrender, and even Tippoo was so impressed that he treated them reasonably well. This service earned the regiment (twelve years later) the battle honours 'Mysore' and 'Mangalore'.

To avoid confusion it had better be said now that the 73rd (1/HLI) became, in 1786, the 71st, and the 2/42nd, which became the 73rd (1/BW) in the same year, remained so permanently. In the eighteenth century, with constant raising and disbanding of regiments, and the War Office having a tidy mind and refusing to

[1] A corruption of 'sipahi', same word as 'spahi', used among the French N. African troops, i.e. foot soldier. Sowar: a rider, or horse-soldier.

PLATE IV

Left to right

1801
The 3rd Foot Guards (SG)
Private Man

1778
The 73rd Highlanders (McLeod's) (1/HLI)
Coy. Officer

1793
The 3rd Foot Guards
Coy. Officer (*half dress*)

1771
The 25th or Edinburgh Regt. (KOSB)
Grenadier

1798
The 92nd Highlanders (2/GORDONS)
Piper (*Lt. Coy.*)

1780
The 42nd or Royal Highland Regt. (BW)
Coy. Officer (*Lt. Coy.*) *N. America*

1804
The Loyal North Britons Association
Private (*Lt. Coy.*)

1798
The 78th Highlanders (2/SEAFORTH)
Sergeant (*Grenr. Coy.*)

PLATE IV

Figures B & C

leave blanks, changes of regimental numbers were fairly frequent. For example, the 42nd (BW) began as the 43rd, the 72nd (1/SEAFORTH) as the 78th, the 92nd (2/GORDONS) as the 100th, and the 91st (1/A & S) as the 98th; there was always bitter resentment, as a regiment felt that all its past history centred round its number which had been, officially, its name. For additional identification there was, of course, the well-known custom (prohibited in 1759, but carried on by some of the Scottish regiments) of referring to a regiment by its Colonel's name, e.g. McLeod's, Abercrombie's, &c., and in 1782 an order was issued for Foot regiments to assume County titles, which were to coincide with their recruiting districts. In the case of the 73rd, dissatisfaction at the change to '71st' came so near the stage of insubordination that Colonel Mackenzie had to take a strong line with his quick-tempered and obstinate Highlanders. He paraded the regiment and walked along the ranks, loaded pistol in hand, with a drummer handing out the numbers '71' from a bonnet, while he intimated that refusal to obey an order would undoubtedly have very serious, and possibly sudden, consequences.

Like the 2/42nd, the 73rd (HLI) were also concerned in an affair which ended with surrender, but their fate, as prisoners, was very much worse. At CONJEVERAM—one of those interesting names which are so characteristic of Southern India—in a battle against Haider Ali, their Flank Companies (the Grenadiers and Light Infantry) were detached and sent to the aid of a small force under Colonel Baillie, which was under fire from sixty guns and almost surrounded. They kept Haider's men at bay and routed his cavalry when they attempted a charge. But the enemy took advantage of momentary confusion when some ammunition blew up, and closed in in such overwhelming numbers that eventually the position became hopeless, and the survivors surrendered. There followed an exhibition of cruelty which could not have been surpassed even by the three most barbarous nations which took part in the 1939–45 war, tortures and killings devised with a skill and brutality which proved that Haider's men were experts in Oriental sadism.

Captain Baird was selected for special attention, as his Grenadiers had killed so many of the enemy. Ensign Melville (previously mentioned) was among the few survivors, who were imprisoned in filthy dungeons at Seringapatam. The fact that he lived to rejoin the regiment later on, is proof of the indestructable qualities of the men of that time. His left arm had been shattered by a ball, his right slashed by a tulwar, another ball had passed through his breast and a spear had been thrust through him, all this in a climate where tetanus and gangrene set in with the slightest encouragement, and he cannot have had much attention for his wounds. In addition,

three days after the battle—one can imagine the state he was in then—he was stripped naked and dragged behind a horse, and it is unlikely that his torturer kept its pace to a walk.

Baillie's disaster and the treatment of these men made it more than ever necessary to liquidate the power of Haider and Tippoo, and numerous engagements of varying size and importance went on over the years. The 72nd (SEAFORTH), for instance, were in action at CUDDALORE, COIMBATORE, PALGHAUTCHERI, SAVANDROOG, OUTRADURGUM, DINDEGUL and BANGALORE, and the 75th (GORDONS) at CHOWGHASET and TRINCALORE forts. Many of these are long forgotten, though they were vital events in the lives of men serving in India at the time and there were many other encounters, all of which were preliminaries to the taking of Haider's capital.

A force consisting of the 73rd (2/BW), 75th (1/GORDONS), and 77th (MIDDLESEX REGIMENT), with some Sepoys and the usual native followers, set out for this purpose in 1791 and did some tough work in crossing the Ghats (steps, a range of mountains). They had to haul their guns up cliffs by means of tackle fixed to overhanging trees, and cut a track through sixty miles of jungle. In the end the expedition proved abortive and had to return through this difficult country during the torrential rains of the Monsoon season, being followed and harrassed by swarms of native horsemen.

The next attempt in which the 72nd took part was more successful, and, after a considerable amount of fighting (during which a part of the 75th (GORDONS) got into a very hot spot, ran out of ammunition and were charged by the enemy's 'Tiger Battalions') Tippoo made terms and handed over a large indemnity.

The 72nd (1/SEAFORTH), whose long list of actions now included PONDICHERRY and several against the Dutch in CEYLON, went home in 1797, leaving 388 men who had volunteered to join the 75th (GORDONS). The next year Tippoo was again found to be intriguing with the French, who were now at war with Britain, and the 75th were soon on active service again.

The final attack on SERINGAPATAM did not come until 1799, and four Highland regiments were present—71st (1/HLI), 74th (2/HLI), 73rd (2/BW), and 75th (1/GORDONS). This time it was done with the full orthodox procedure—parallels, batteries, mines, ten days artillery bombardment, two assault columns, with 'forlorn hope' parties (one of them from the 75th), pioneers, scaling-ladder parties, &c., all properly organized. Orders were given to use the bayonet only, and not to fire except in dire emergency. The troops took up their positions at night and remained concealed in trenches until after one o'clock p.m. (the hottest hour) when most natives would be doped in their mid-day siesta. The assault columns (one led by David Baird of the 71st (HLI), now a Colonel, who was captured

at Conjeveram with the survivors of Baillie's force) had to rush a hundred yards across open ground, ford the River Caveri, scale a wall, and cross a ditch before arriving at the breaches, while the enemy fired off everything available. They went at it with such a determined rush that within six minutes from the start, the British Colours were planted on the ramparts.

This striking success was partly due to the work of the 74th and 75th, a few days before, when, with two Sepoy regiments, they captured an important redoubt, from which an 18-pounder battery was able to enfilade a considerable part of the defences.

Tippoo was killed and 1,000 guns and over £1,000,000 in cash were taken, and there was plenty of loot for the troops. (In those days the old custom survived of regarding small items of enemy property after a victory, as the perquisite of the troops, provided they did not immobilize themselves or the transport.)

This did not end the fighting and, right up to 1859, there were very few years when there was not a war proceeding in some part of the country. It was the same story all through—small numbers of British troops and Sepoys against the vast and unwieldy forces of the Rajahs. For instance at CUDDALORE W. Richards quotes the numbers as 7,000 men under Sir Eyre Coote, against Haider's army of 25 battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans (presumably French), nearly 50,000 horse, more than 100,000 matchlock men and 47 guns. In a case like this (in which the numbers may well have been over-estimated) it is probable that only the 25 battalions and the gunners would have been properly trained, the remainder being more or less a rabble brought out to impress the enemy. But in the event of things going well for them the rabble would have been of some use for purposes of harrassing the enemy's retreat, murdering stragglers and so on. The equipment of these armies was drawn from several centuries and included such items as chain mail, cotton-quilted armour and multifarious museum pieces in the way of swords, spears, shields and muskets—the matchlock of the seventeenth century being still in common use.

It was naturally difficult to control these huge heterogeneous armies and it nearly always paid the British to take the initiative immediately, even with odds of twenty to one, as once their superior training and equipment and men had made a serious impression, confusion was likely to set in among the untrained and unmanoeuvrable masses. In these conditions, panic could spread with surprising speed. The risk which had to be taken, was of failing at the first attack, or of being surrounded by the huge numbers. In either case the morale of the rabble would rise and they would become more formidable.

One more instance of the service of the Highland regiments must

be mentioned, before reverting to the world-troubles which were radiating from the 'city of the guillotine'.

The next serious threat in India came from the confederation of the Mahratta chiefs in central India, again aided and urged on by France. These Hindus were a warlike race who had been one of the main causes of the break-up of the old Mohammedan empire of India, and law and order was the one thing which did not suit them. Their exceedingly numerous cavalry consisted of bands of thieves, with no fixed abode, who lived by plundering and murdering the peaceful populations. These brigands naturally had no thought except for themselves, so would not fight if they saw nothing was to be gained. But Scindia, one of their leading chiefs had engaged a French officer, named de Boigne (succeeded in 1796 by Perron) to be his Commander-in-Chief and train his infantry on the European system, thus producing a much more useful army.

With the advances made by this method and the combination of several Chiefs the menace grew to such proportions by 1803 that action had to be taken.

The commander of the British force was Colonel Arthur Wellesley, known to Peninsula veterans a few years later as 'our Arthur'. He was first commissioned in the 73rd (BW) in 1787, at the age of eighteen, later became Colonel of the 33rd (DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S), and had been in command of the Reserve at Seringapatam.

After a prolonged game of hide and seek over a large area, Wellesley, with a mixed force of 4,500 troops, which included the 74th (HLI) and the 78th (SEAFORTH), suddenly came face to face with Scindia's army drawn up in readiness to prevent his crossing the Kaitna river.

The Mahrattas had 17,000 infantry, 10,000 of them trained on the now famous de Boigne system, 30,000 brigand Horse and great strength in artillery, amounting to ninety-eight guns. Wellesley's artillery was almost negligible in comparison.

This was certainly a tense situation, but there was no hesitation. Wellesley made a demonstration with his cavalry, while he moved the remainder, unseen in some broken ground, to where two villages on opposite sides of the river suggested the existence of a ford. They crossed without opposition, but were then in a triangle formed by the confluence of the rivers Juah and Kaitna on two sides, and the Mahrattas, changing front and moving guns into position on the third side. (Wellesley did not expect them to be able to carry out this movement without confusion and delay.)

The two Highland regiments were the only British infantry and it is not difficult to imagine their thoughts, as they splashed through the ford—something like those of a 'forlorn hope' party just before the signal is given for the assault. No one could guess how it would

turn out, or whether, in a few minutes, he would be a mangled corpse, or a mutilated body, or just one of those who took part in a great achievement, but his over-riding anxiety was, whatever happened, not to let the regiment down.

Across the ford they deployed into line of battle—Highlanders in their rather odd-looking dress of bonnet, red coatee and white trousers, Sepoys similar except in the upper part, where dark faces under black chakos gave quite a different effect. Colours and bands took post, dressing was corrected, bayonets were fixed and muskets checked over. Then came an interval of tense silence and waiting, punctuated by occasional cannon-balls, which bounded along the ground and sometimes smashed through the ranks leaving gory gaps, which had to be closed up immediately.

Troops began to move on the right, towards the village of ASSAYE. This was someone's blunder, and within a few moments havoc struck the 74th. Scindia's guns concentrated on them and their ranks became a slaughter house. Heads, arms, brains, and worst of all, guts, were torn from mangled bodies and scattered over those who were still whole. The air was filled with dust and smoke, the crash of shells, and the cries of the wounded. Of 19 officers, 11 were killed and 7 wounded, and of 569 O.R.'s, about 400 fell in a very short time, but the 74th behaved magnificently.

Seeing this state of affairs a large body of Mahratta cavalry became filled with enthusiasm and boldly charged the remains of the 74th, breaking through the disordered ranks. Disaster seemed imminent, specially as the effect on the Sepoys of seeing the 74th annihilated could not be foretold. But, at the crucial moment, the noise and dust increased suddenly and, at a tearing gallop, lines of Light Dragoons (the 19th), followed by Indian Sowars (troopers) crashed into the crowds of brigand horsemen, sabres flashing as they hacked down white-clad figures into shapeless crimson-splashed heaps. The whole mass churned together in apparently hopeless confusion. Then it was seen that Light Dragoons, Sowars and Mahrattas were all going the same way, at considerable speed, sabres clashing against tulwars as they all went headlong into the river, across it, up the other bank, and on. When the surviving Mahratta horsemen had disappeared, the 19th, men and horses, worked up to feverish excitement, charged some infantry they saw, and then re-formed and returned to the main battle. There was no further trouble from enemy cavalry.

Meanwhile the British line advanced steadily, without returning the enemy's fire until it came within short range. Then, one volley and the bayonet took them through the line of guns. But the gunners were cunning and hid under the wheels and gun-carriages, emerging

quickly to swing them round and plaster the British in the rear with grapeshot. This involved a retrograde movement to retake the guns, which looked like a retreat and gave corresponding encouragement to the enemy, and so the battle went on, to and fro, neither side winning.

At one stage Wellesley himself led the 78th (SEAFORTH) with a regiment of Indian cavalry, away from the main struggle, to recover some guns, which had been immobilized by the loss of their bullocks and taken by Mahrattas who, with their much longer line, had been able to get round the British flank.

In the end the enemy's line broke and, rallying with the river at their backs they attempted to make a last stand, only to be broken up again by a bayonet charge and driven off by the cavalry, leaving all their guns and stores.

In memory of this extremely fine effort, the Governor-General presented a special 'Assaye' Colour to the 19th LIGHT DRAGOONS (later Hussars), the 74th and the 78th and, as a further distinction, an elephant badge was awarded, which now appears as part of the present badges of these regiments. The 74th were known for some years as the ASSAYE REGIMENT, and the special colour was trooped on the anniversary of the battle until 1948, when the 2nd Bn. HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY (like nearly all the other 2nd Battalions) ceased to exist.

In these battles, as in most others where Scottish regiments were present, the services of those invaluable men, the pipers, were worthy of notice. Throughout history they seem to have had a full realization of the importance of their job—that they were not just musicians, but that their pipes really were 'an instrument of war', providing something the men needed to put a final edge on their keenness at critical moments. Scores of times pipers have deliberately exposed themselves to devastating fire, or continued playing when seriously wounded, so that nothing should be lacking towards a victory. They could undoubtedly excite the men before a charge, or rally them when they were exhausted and almost incapable of further effort.

There is a story that General Sir Eyre Coote, who was known to have described pipes as 'a useless relic of the barbarous ages and not in any manner calculated to discipline troops', said later to a piper who was playing the 73rd (HLI) into action at PORTO NOVO, 'Well done, my brave fellow! You shall have silver pipes for this!' And in due course he got the silver pipes.

A piper at Assaye put himself in the wrong, by retiring with the bandsmen when they were ordered to attend the wounded, and was jeered at by his comrades. They said his place in battle was in the front rank and, feeling cut to the quick, he played such stirring music

in the next battle at Argaum, that it was difficult to restrain the men from making a premature charge.

Judging by the Journal of Lieutenant Ronald Campbell of the 72nd (SEAFORTH), the effect on the enemy was sometimes just the opposite. At Pondicherry, in 1793, Colonel Campbell ordered his pipers to 'play some pibrochs'. '. . . exposed to a burning sun and a severe cannonade from the fortress. . . . On the pipes being struck up, the fire of the enemy immediately slackened and soon after almost entirely ceased, the French crowding upon their works in their amazement at the unwonted sound.'

After Assaye there was more fighting with the Mahrattas, at ALIGHUR, AGRA, and LASWAREE, and the 75th (GORDONS) took part in Lord Lake's unsuccessful attempt to storm the massive fortress of the Jats, at BHARTPORE, in 1805. But India must be left, for the time being, to fry in its own 'ghee' (Indian cooking fat).

The campaigns just described might have gone on in exactly the same way, had there been no world-shaking events proceeding in Europe. With the communications and transport facilities of those days, India was so distant that repercussions were slow to arrive, and the British empire-builders and their French opponents continued on their normal course of mopping-up wars, versus underground intrigue and the cat's-paw system.

In Europe and countries within easier reach, it was different. In 1789 the human eruption occurred in France, which spread devastation across the world. The lower orders had undoubtedly suffered a great deal under a harsh and selfish tyranny inflicted on them by the aristocracy and, when their revenge came, it took the form of callous barbarism and every kind of excess.

After the preliminary scenes of arson, murder and looting, there was an interval, during which it seemed just possible that the revolution might proceed in an orderly manner. But soon the guillotine was set up in Paris, and falling heads and spouting blood and the accompanying scenes of pitiful tragedy provided day-long entertainment for the gloating, brutish mobs. The average score for a month was, at one time, between two and three thousand heads. At first the victims were men and women of aristocratic families (mostly innocent of any crime), who had been crowded into noisome dungeons and kept alive on pigs' food until their turn came. Even the King and Queen (Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette) died in this ignominious fashion, and later, all types, including revolutionaries who were out of favour with the leaders, came in the tumbrils to make their bow under the falling chopper.

But there were even worse things. For instance, at Arras 5,000 people were massacred; at Nantes 500 children were taken from their mothers and killed; and throughout the country, wherever the

inhabitants tried to preserve some of the order and decency of life, villages were burned and looted and there was rape and murder in the streets and in the fields. People were roped together and mown down by chain-shot, others were herded into rivers and drowned and, so foul were the mobs, that they even held meetings in Notre Dame Cathedral to worship crime and degeneracy. At one of these a prostitute was raised up at the high altar, amid scenes of bestiality, as a sort of goddess of vice.

The repercussions of the French Revolution have not yet subsided, but the immediate result which concerns this story was twenty years of war, spread over Europe, Africa, and North and South America and the adjacent seas and islands.

Britain, as usual, was quite unprepared when France declared war on her and invaded Holland in 1793; but Dutch islands and harbours, held by an enemy, would seriously increase the menace of an invasion, and we had treaty obligations to Holland. So there was no question about taking up the challenge.

Six times during the century there had been war with France, but the unwarlike English were always ready for another bout with their oldest enemy, and the Scots favoured a 'scrap' on any pretext. Between 1789 and the beginning of the war, in 1793, there were many in Britain who approved the objects of the revolution, while deploring its methods. But, for the British (squabble as they might in peacetime), it only needed a foreign enemy to bring to the surface that awkward national determination which normally remains hidden under a guise of futility, and those sympathisers soon became exceedingly unpopular.

The Navy had 113 battleships against France's 76, but only 12 were in commission. The Army was in a low state and had only 15,000 men at home and about 30,000 overseas. So the sea was the most promising element for some time to come and, in order to produce some cheap and quick results, and keep the enemy occupied, the Government tried a policy of small sea-borne expeditions. These had various objects, some of them sound, such as seizing West Indian islands to gain harbours and deprive the French of important supplies, securing the Cape because it guarded the route to India, getting Mediterranean bases to menace France in the rear, and so on. But, with such puny resources, one expedition starved another and, when good opportunities arose, there were no troops left with which to exploit them. Ever since the Civil War, Parliament had always had a sneaking fear of the Royal Army and, in peacetime, kept it so under-strength as to be almost unusable. They would not even allow barracks to be built, in case Commanding Officers might smarten up their recruiting parties, so as to fill the empty space.

In 1793 the result was that, when they wanted to send an expedi-

tion to HOLLAND, only the GUARDS were available. The Duke of York asked for volunteers, on the Horse Guards' parade, and the whole Brigade, without exception, took a pace forward. The first battalions of the 1st GUARDS (Grenadiers), the 2nd (Coldstream) and the 3rd (SG), were sent, without transport, reserve ammunition, or medical supplies. They were packed into Thames barges, or anything that would float and reached Holland just ahead of a storm which would probably have sunk them all.

The army of the Allies consisted mainly of Austrians, Germans, Dutch and, with later arrivals of British regiments (including the 42nd (BW), the 78th (SEAFORTH) and a detachment of the GREYS, eventually totalled nearly 160,000, against a quarter of a million French, under Pichegru. Battles were fought at FAMARS, VALENCIENNES, LINCELLES, TURCOING, WILLEMS, and other places, and the campaign went on, over the usual pitch—Flanders and the Low Countries—until 1795. At this stage the French grew stronger and the Allies retreated, leaving the British isolated so that they were forced to withdraw into Utrecht and, finally, to England. During the RETREAT THROUGH GELDERLAND, arctic weather descended on this unfortunate army. The frost was so severe that birds fell dead from the trees, and far across the dead-level country a panorama of desolation could be seen—ice-covered guns and waggons standing with their teams lying dead in their harness, groups of soldiers and families huddled together and all frozen stiff, survivors fighting to get at the meagre ration-stores, and scattered figures staggering weakly on. The troops were already in a poor state of health and ill-provided in every way, so had little strength to resist the cold. In the end, out of over twenty regiments and ancillary services, only about 6,000 remained fit for duty. It was one of those improvized efforts which occur with sickening repetition, at the beginning of nearly every war in which Britain is involved. Usually the portents are unmistakeable long before the outbreak, but it seems an essential part of the procedure to begin with disasters, while the 'bulldog' is stretching himself and getting his teeth into working order.

Towards the end of the campaign, during fighting which took place across frozen rivers and over ice-bound country, the 42nd (BW) were concerned in an incident at GUILDERMALSEN, which was believed to have been the origin of the well-known red hackle. During the retreat some Dragoons covering the withdrawal of picquets were driven in by French cavalry, abandoning two guns. The 42nd were sent from the rear-guard to recover them, which they did, with heavy loss. They first drove off a regiment of French Hussars who were removing the guns and then had to haul them back, without horses and fighting all the way.

The 'popular' story was that General Dundas, on the field, ordered

the red plumes to be taken from the Dragoons and to be worn by the 42nd, but as the General had no authority to do such a thing, and the Dragoons concerned never wore red plumes, this too good story has been finally discredited by the regiment itself.

What did happen was that, on George III's birthday parade, 4th June 1795, red vulture feathers were handed out to every man present.

While Colonel Arthur Wellesley was commanding the 33rd (now the DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S) in Holland, in the south a Corsican artillery officer, named Napoleon Bonaparte, was busily siting his guns to oppose another attempt to bolster up a mixed force of half-hearted Allies, at Toulon. This venture included the ROYALS (RS), and the 25th (KOSB), but like the Holland expedition, was unsuccessful and had to be withdrawn.

In 1794 the 25th had better success, as Marines, in Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet near Brest—'the GLORIOUS 1ST OF JUNE' —where they earned a share of 'prize money' as the result of the capture of a ship carrying £1,000,000. They had twenty-two casualties but, as only three Companies were present they did not qualify for the augmentation, on the Colours, of a Naval crown, which was granted (in a very few instances) to other regiments.

In 1795 they went to GRENADA, in the West Indies, where they were involved in some stiff fighting with brigands, and a special order was published in praise of their work. On the voyage out one of their transports (it usually took about five or six of the small ships of those days to carry a regiment) was captured by a French corvette. The discipline of the revolutionaries was slack and a well-designed scheme, after some set-backs, enabled the Scots to seize the ship in which they were prisoners and force the Captain to sail into Grenada, where they rejoined the regiment, presumably with some prize money to come.

The 25th did not stay long in the West Indies, but the 1st (RS), the 21st (RSF) and the 26th (CAMERONIANS) and the 42nd (BW) all did a spell there during the Napoleonic Wars and acquired some battle honours. These campaigns which went on intermittently for about fourteen years, were also badly run, no tropical clothing, poor medical service, and young soldiers were sent out without being told how to keep themselves fit in such a climate. There was some fighting, and revolutionary agitators raised anti-European rebellions among the natives (mostly West African slaves). Conditions were similar to those during the 1950's in Malaya and in the 'Mau Mau' country, and in some instances French Royalists even asked the British for protection. But by far the most formidable enemies were 'Yellow Jack', typhus, dysentery and other tropical diseases which Arthur Bryant says, killed 40,000 men in about three years. The

ROYALS (RS) were reduced to 123 of all ranks, in San Domingo in 1794, and seven battalions had only 1,100 fit men between them. Those who went down with sickness had a poor chance of survival, as their usual fate was to be sent to a hospital ship, where they lay in unspeakable conditions of filth and stench, until their bodies were thrown overboard. Apparently even the customary roundshot were lacking, as they soon rose to the surface and floated round the harbours in gruesome condition, spreading pollution among the shipping.

The 2/1st (RS) and the 25th (KOSB) were in an invasion of CORSICA (after the evacuation of Toulon, in 1794) where they had to work with the Navy in man-handling heavy guns up the cliffs, and came in for some bayonet work in the taking of Convention Redoubt. But before long Corsica was abandoned and they were sent to Elba. Then Elba was evacuated and they went to Lisbon (capital of our oldest ally) and returned to England in 1799.

So it went on, ill-supported expeditions in distant parts of the world, which, if they had initial success, were not strong enough to hold on when heavy forces came against them.

The 100th (GORDONS) did their first tour of foreign service at Bastia, Corsica, while the occupation lasted, and then at 'Gib', where wine was so cheap as to be a menace to discipline. But the Highlanders were well brought up in their youth and did not succumb unduly. They returned home in 1798 without, so far, having fired a shot at the enemy.

Later that year, they were sent to Ireland to repel a French invasion and were in garrison with such unfamiliar units as the ANGUS AND REAY FENCIBLES and the ANCIENT BRITISH DRAGOONS. (Records do not tell whether the latter were equipped with chariots or dressed in woad.) The 100th were not present at the two battles after the French landed at Killala—the ill-famed 'CASTLE BAR RACES' and BALLINAMUCK where Lord Lake dealt finally with the invaders. But conditions were not pleasant. Following the revolutionary technique, French agents had stirred up discontent among the inhabitants, before the landing, not a very difficult matter, and the country was in a state of rebellion. As a result there was 'cloak and dagger' work on one side, which roused savagery on the other. But the 100th received a handsome testimonial signed by the Dean of Ferns and Churchwarden of Gorey (Wexford) for the 'honesty and humanity' of the men. Among other restrictions while serving in Irish garrisons, other ranks were not allowed out of barracks after 10 a.m., were discouraged from fraternizing with the inhabitants and were forbidden to marry Irish girls. There was a considerable amount of movement, and on one occasion the regiment marched ninety-six miles in three days with full equipment. This, including the musket

and bayonet, weighed about 75 lb. It gives some idea of the load, to imagine each man carrying a sack of potatoes nearly three-quarters full, a distance of over thirty miles a day. True, the impedimenta was not in one lump, like the potatoes, but its distribution over the body was far from being scientific, as all the straps crossed and constricted the chest, there was no waist-belt to hold it together and the pack was supported only by the breast harness. It was while in Ireland that the 100th became the 92nd, in 1798, and it seems odd that numbers should have been left vacant by the disbandment of any regiments at such a time.

The year 1797 was one of the black periods. The French were victorious on the Continent and Britain stood alone, against an apparently hopeless situation, which included the imminent menace of invasion. Enemy agents (most of them British) were extremely busy and succeeded in working up some very serious mutinies in the Navy. They attempted the same thing in the Army, and the N.C.O.'s of the 25th (KOSB) were allowed to issue a proclamation, at Portsmouth, offering ten guineas reward (out of their own pockets) for information about the activities of these traitors. The same thing was happening in the 3rd GUARDS (SG) and a similar proclamation was issued in the name of all 'other ranks', offering £50 reward and ending with the words, '. . . we will prove that attachment which brave soldiers and loyal subjects ought to do, and be true and faithful to our King and Country under every pressure of Misfortune.' The sedition-mongers thought they were on a good wicket, owing to the bad conditions in both services but, like most foreigners, the organizers misjudged the British temperament. (Presumably the French Revolution was the model for most of the subsequent ones, including those of the twentieth century, but it does not seem to have left much room for improvement by the modern 'sansculottes'.)

In spite of their grave lapses of discipline, it was the Navy, under Admirals Jervis and Duncan, who lit up the gloom of 1797 with the flashes of their thunderous broadsides, at ST. VINCENT and CAMPERDOWN, names which, even now, have an inspiring ring about them. These two great victories, over the Spanish and Dutch fleets (the latter about to escort an invasion force to Ireland) definitely brightened the outlook and encouraged people to think once more about the future.

But the end was still many years away and Napoleon, whose victories had by now gained him a reputation second to none in France, was just getting into his stride. In 1798 he took Malta, dodged Nelson's patrols, landed in Egypt and occupied Alexandria and Cairo. Nelson caught up with the French fleet very soon afterwards and gained a most complete victory at the famous BATTLE OF THE NILE, which cut off the French in Egypt from their bases.

The Spanish, Dutch and French navies had now each had a painful experience, which reduced their forces and reacted on their morale, and an invasion of England seemed less probable. Beyond this it now appeared, to France's shivering enemies on the Continent, that after all, Britain was not going under, and they were sufficiently encouraged to form another 'Coalition', which actually drove the French out of North Italy.

But the vast land forces of France were still unbeaten. Napoleon, abandoning his troops in Egypt, managed to get back to France in 1799 and was appointed 'First Consul', which gave him full control over all the civil and military resources of the country. He at once began further preparations for the invasion of England. (The triumphal arch in Paris to 'L'Armèe d'Angleterre' is a most interesting souvenir.) Britain, with the Army still in poor condition, continued on her ineffective policy of making use of her sea-power to convoy under-nourished expeditions to enemy shores.

There was a raid on Ostend, to disrupt invasion preparations, followed by another HOLLAND EXPEDITION in 1799, in which Scotland was prominently represented by the 3rd GUARDS (SG), the 1st (RS), the 25th (KOSB), the 79th (CAMERONS), and the 92nd (GORDONS), the last two being on service for the first time. The Dutch, after being overrun by France in 1794, had joined her side and it was thought, rather optimistically, that if they could be released from French domination, they might return to their previous allegiance.

All the Scots regiments mentioned above, except the 3rd GUARDS, were in Major-General John Moore's brigade and he gave his impressions of them in his diary, when they came under his command. The 92nd were 'exceptional', the next best were the ROYALS and the 25th. The 79th were 'weak but not bad'. The other Line regiments were poor and few of them were 'formed or disciplined'. He left one at home, as it was not fit for service. Owing to the constant wastage of men on minor expeditions, specially those in the West Indies, the Army, after six years of war, was still weak and inefficient. Recruiting had been conducted by shameful methods and had produced an inadequate quantity of men, described by Wellington as 'scum', and others who were tricked, bribed or physically kidnapped into enlisting. (Compulsory service was instituted during the war, but only applied to Home Defence. Had it covered unlimited service, the war might have ended years sooner than it did.) Given time, even the mixture just described could be made into excellent soldiers, but constant drafting had never given the opportunity for the regiments at home to become really efficient. The Scottish regiments usually had the great advantage of nearly all their men being willing volunteers. Again this shows a notable

difference in the temperaments of the two nations—the English avoiding war if they could, if not, proving that they could fight as well as anyone in the world; the Scots needing no compulsion and regarding war as a part of the natural course of life.

The British Force, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, embarked at Ramsgate, about 10,000 strong, leaving wives and families on the quayside. Some gentlemen watching were evidently affected by the partings they witnessed and offered to pay the fares of the families to London and give each wife 2/6 to spend on the journey.

Rough weather delayed the landing for some days and, as in those days there was no provision of anti-seasickness dope, many of the men could not have been feeling at their best when they waded ashore under fire. There was confusion in disembarking, regiments became mixed and some of the landing boats capsized, one of these accidents causing the drowning of fourteen men of the 92nd. But the landing, which involved nearly 500 casualties, was so successful that the Dutch quickly evacuated the Helder fort with its large gunpark. The guns of the Navy covered the troops on the beaches and fired effectively on the Dutch flank when they made a counter-attack. Thirty-seven Dutch ships, in the Texel, hoisted the Royalist (Orange) flag and came under the Royal Navy, but the Dutch on shore were evidently confused in their politics and did not appear to desire 'liberation'.

An interesting point was that a considerable force of Russians joined the British (who had to pay them). They proved useful allies, except on one occasion, at Bergen, when after a successful attack, the sight of plunder was too much for them. While scavenging over the pickings, a counter-attack burst upon them and they were driven back, with the result that the British on either flank also had to withdraw.

There was a very considerable amount of fighting including the battle of EGMONT-OP-ZEE, which name appears on the Colours of the five Scottish regiments in the expedition. All of them did well in a complicated affair among the sandhills and the 92nd came up to General Moore's expectations and distinguished themselves. At one stage of the battle, when they were escorting twenty guns along the beach, they were attacked by about 6,000 French, whom they successfully beat off after repeated bayonet charges and prolonged close-quarter fighting. Their Commanding Officer, the Marquis of Huntly was wounded among a total of nearly 300 casualties, and they were highly praised by Abercrombie and their Brigadier—a good beginning, in their first campaign.

During the battle two men of the 92nd found General Moore apparently dead and carried him to a dressing station, returning to their unit immediately afterwards. On his recovery he offered a

reward of £20 to the men who had saved his life, but no one ever came forward to claim it. Further proof of the manner in which the 92nd had impressed him was his choice, as 'supporters' for his new coat of arms, as a K.B. (created in 1804), of a Light Infantryman and a Gordon Highlander. (Moore was, of course, the Light Infantry expert and was Colonel of the 52nd (OXFORDSHIRE).

Apart from the acquisition of the Dutch fleet, which was a considerable achievement, this expedition proved to be another abortive effort and ended with an armistice followed by evacuation and the release of enemy prisoners.

The French commander's plan of defence had been well conceived and, aided by his liberal use of 'sharpshooters' (snipers) among the sand dunes and skilfully contrived inundations made by cutting the dykes, had prevented a satisfactory advance, in spite of various minor successes by the Allies. One of the hardships he inflicted on his enemies was that of repairing broken dykes in perishingly cold weather, for which, rather surprisingly, when one thinks of 1915, extra pay was given.

There was also 'prize money', to be shared among units—£20 for a 'common howitzer' (if handed in to the R.A.), £10 for a tumbril, and the monetary value of a Colour was no more than that of a tumbril. Presumably the terms provided for these being left behind, like the prisoners, and what happened about the prize money then is not recorded.

Some new weapons are mentioned in the records of this period—'globes of compression' were one, spherical iron cases in which to pack gunpowder for mining under enemy works, so as to increase the force of the explosion. Another was 'Congreve's Pyrotechnic Arrows'—a commercial-sounding name for the rocket-shells, invented by Colonel Congreve and used by the R.H.A. An even more modern touch was given by an observation balloon used by the French.

CHAPTER V · 1800-14

NAPOLEONIC WARS.
AMERICAN WAR.

A successful end to a war is normally accomplished by making a concentrated attack on the enemy's main forces and destroying them, or by getting possession of the centres which supply them with recruits, munitions, stores and moral support. But Britain had a long way to go before this could be done and meanwhile the policy of making isolated expeditions continued. Various factors, such as Napoleon's methods of cutting off trade between Europe and Britain, his superiority in land forces, and ours at sea, alliances and their probable value, &c., &c., came into this apparently erroneous policy, but its reasons cannot be discussed here, only its effects on the Scottish regiments. These were mainly to send them farther afield to parts of the world which were then very remote from Scotland.

In 1801 it was decided that it would help matters if Napoleon's army in Egypt were destroyed. This had been practically isolated since the battle of the Nile, but it remained a potential menace to the Middle East and India and it would be better if it ceased to exist.

There was a Scot, General Sir Charles Stuart, little known, but described by Fortescue as 'the only one of our Generals, besides Marlborough, who combined great general ability [obviously no pun intended] with profound military knowledge, irresistible personal charm and magic of leadership'. He had succeeded brilliantly wherever he had been given the opportunity, and he had produced a plan for attacking France via the Riviera, while the Austrians co-operated from their side. Fortescue thought this might have put Napoleon in the bag in 1800, and so have saved fifteen more years of war. But nothing was done, Napoleon scored a decisive victory over the Austrians at Marengo, and frustration from many angles eventually caused Stuart's resignation and perhaps his death soon after. So it fell to two other Scots to carry out someone's alternative scheme.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was the C.-in-C. and had a considerable

number of his compatriots in his force—the 3rd GUARDS, 1st (RS), 25th (KOSB), 26th (CAMERONIANS), 42nd (BW), 79th (CAMERONS), 90th (2/CAMERONIANS) and 92nd (2/GORDONS).

The other Scottish Commander, the embittered and choleric Sir David Baird (last mentioned at Seringapatam), made history by being the first to bring a force, quite a small one, from India to take part in Middle East operations. They crossed the desert from the Red Sea to the Nile, about 300 miles above Cairo, and then proceeded in boats. The Army had not had so much experience of deserts in those days, but they knew enough to do their marching at night and apparently they did not have to worry about being attacked *en route*, even by raiding Bedouin. Thirst was the main problem, and they found that the only remedy was to mix some vinegar with the small ration of water. When they eventually passed the sharp dividing line between the desert and the lush green strip alongside the Nile, their pace automatically quickened, but when they saw the river nothing could hold them. Discipline just vanished and a rabble of men, horses, camels and bullocks made a rush and wallowed *en masse* in the water.

Abercrombie, 'that gallant and good old warrior', believed in being thorough and wanted to avoid a repetition of the muddle at the Helder landing the year before. So he took his force, which had assembled at Malta (re-taken from the French 5/9/1800), to Marmaras Bay in Asia Minor, where they did several rehearsals of the proposed operation, and attention was given to every detail, including such small items as putting leather peaks on the Highlander's bonnets, to protect their eyes from the Egyptian sun.

The landing took place at ABOUKIR BAY, near the scene of the Battle of the Nile, on 8th March 1801, after the Fleet had been at anchor during a four-days gale. Each man carried three days rations, a blanket (leaving his pack on board), and entrenching tools, (ordinary picks and shovels) were taken. Muskets were not to be loaded[1] and sixty rounds were issued, with two spare flints.

At 0200 hours they began embarking from the transports into landing boats, which were rowed by bluejackets. There were fifty soldiers in each and it took six hours before they all reached the RV and were ready to move inshore, by which time, of course, there was full daylight.

Eventually a rocket went up—the signal to advance. The sailors got to work at the oars, and the three lines of boats, 179 in all, began to move with incredible slowness. Men packed so that they were unable to move, talked in whispers, as 'the strictest silence' had been ordered, while they wondered what it would be like when the shore

[1] This was because the spray in the boats would have damped the powder, and would have meant having to extract the charge as well as reloading, before the men could fire.

batteries started work, and where they would be at the end of the day.

Across the deep blue of the Mediterranean the French could be seen, ready in their positions along a glaring sand ridge, the yellow desert broken only by a few isolated clumps of palms. Away to the right a glimmering mass of white was the town of Alexandria.

Nothing happened until they came within a few hundred yards of the beach. Then roundshot began sending up fountains of water among the boats. Further on, deluges of grapeshot became much more menacing and the light guns, on the small ships escorting the convoy, began to reply. Then, with the addition of French musket fire, the racket became general. The troops could only sit still and hope for the best. Their weapons were not loaded and, anyhow, there was not room to use them. The water now looked as if it was being lashed by a record hailstorm. Splinters flew from boats, a number were sunk, many of the soldiers and the rowers were hit and, as the front line approached the beach, French cavalry came up and dashed into the water, slashing at the crowded men.

At this stage a certain amount of confusion was inevitable. The scheme was for the Light Companies to land first and rush forward in open order, to give protection to the remainder, but actually everyone got on shore as fast as he could, units lined up and were led forward at once, to use their bayonets. The 42nd landed in perfect order, formed up just as on an ordinary parade, advanced a short distance, charged some infantry with immediate success and were then attacked by cavalry which they shattered with a well-disciplined volley. Sir John Moore quickly led three battalions forward and drove the French off a commanding ridge. Meanwhile the 58th (Northamptons) were just in time with a volley, to prevent the GUARDS being charged by cavalry, as they were falling-in. The ROYALS (RS) drove back the French infantry on the left and similar activities were going on in all directions. In about twenty minutes the uproar died down, as the French retreated towards Alexandria. About 700 of Abercrombie's men and large numbers of French lay dead or wounded in the water, on the beach, and in the sandhills, but a beach-head was now established and the landing of more troops and stores proceeded.

The 92nd (GORDONS) had some luck, as they found a French hutted camp in which an excellent dinner was cooking, everything left intact, owing to the haste of the evacuation. During the meal which followed the story was told of Donald Cameron, alias Donald Mor Og (another of those Highland giants), who had been attacked by a French dragoon and had removed him from the saddle with his bayonet and tossed him over his shoulder. Another yarn was of a sad minor incident which showed the additional dangers of in-

experience. A tailor of the regiment, seeing a cannon-ball rolling slowly towards him, thought he would stop it with his foot, but it carried away his leg above the knee.

Five days later Abercrombie made a reconnaissance in force and in this action the 90th [1] (2/CAMERONIANS) and 92nd took the brunt and lost about 400 men. The 92nd were very badly shot up with grape, but continued to advance and took two guns. The 90th, on sailing from England had been hastily issued with dragoon helmets (the only headdress available) and the French cavalry, when they saw, apparently, a regiment of dismounted dragoons, thought they had a 'piece of cake'. They got a most unpleasant surprise and, incidentally, one of these helmets deflected a bullet which would have killed Colonel Hill, the Commanding Officer. These incidents took place near a feature called Mandora Tower and both regiments have the battle honour 'MANDORA'. The 79th (CAMERONS) were also present, but were not awarded the honour, presumably because they came up from reserve at a later stage, passing over the ranks of the 92nd, who were ordered to lie down while they did so.

During the intervals between the battles, the troops did not fare too badly, apart from picquets, &c., some of whom slept in full equipment for about twelve weeks. Tents were provided—quite a luxury to get them soon after the landing, and there were facilities for adding to the rations. A sheep could be bought for 2/3d. (about the price of a scrag chop in England to-day) ,and the Highlanders bought many ostriches at a dollar each, principally for bonnet feathers. Whether they ate the birds is open to doubt.

The main contest, the BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA, came thirteen days after the landing, when General Menou, the French commander, did the attacking and so rescued Abercrombie from his dilemma of assaulting fortifications manned by superior numbers, or making a withdrawal. The 92nd, now only about 150 strong, who had been ordered to march at 0400 hours to Aboukir, for a rest after their trying experience at Mandora, gave an exhibition of the Highland fighting temperament. When they heard the French attack beginning, at 0330 hours, they asked to go back to the line, but nothing could be done. Then Abercrombie rode past on his way to the battle, and was held up by shouts from the men to allow them to go and take part and, being a sympathetic Scot, he granted their request.

[1] The 90th, raised in 1794, began life not too well equipped, apart from their dragoon helmets. Tradition has it that Thomas Graham of Balgowan (later Lord Lynedoch) was on the Continent when his wife, who was a famous beauty, died. He decided to bring her home for burial in Scotland, and at the port of embarkation, some insolent officials of the revolution insisted on opening the coffin to make sure he was not smuggling out one of their intended victims. Graham was so enraged at this desecration that, after his wife's funeral, he raised a regiment of the most ruthless types he could procure and nearly emptied some of the prisons in accomplishing his purpose. The new regiment received an issue of red coats, but owing to shortage of other garments, they went on service wearing their prison trousers and were nicknamed 'Graham's Greybreeks'.

This time the 42nd were 'holding the pass', with the 28th (Gloucesters), near the Roman Ruins, which became the vortex of the battle (where the 28th won the 'back number'). They were repeatedly attacked by infantry and were actually broken up by a great cavalry charge, but rallied in little groups for all-round defence and fought it out. The whole line was attacked, but the French exerted most of their strength against this sector. The GUARDS BRIGADE and the ROYALS were also closely involved and the 3rd GUARDS had 200 casualties. Fighting went on until many of the infantry on both sides ran out of ammunition and took to throwing stones, and a sergeant of the 28th was known to have been killed in this way. In the end the French exhausted themselves and had to retreat which, however, they did in good order. Fortescue describes the 42nd as 'the heroes of the campaign' and says that in three actions they lost 23 officers and 481 O.R.'s killed and wounded, out of a total of 800.

Abercrombie was saved once during the battle by a man of the 42nd who bayonetted a French dragoon officer who was attacking him, but at some time during the day he was hit by a musket-ball. Though he must have been in agony, he managed to conceal his wound until the issue of the battle was decided, and was then carried by men of the 92nd to a boat which took him to Lord Keith's flagship, the *Foudroyant*, where he died. The battle of Alexandria was virtually the end of the campaign and of Napoleon's hopes of an Eastern empire. Apart from 'Mandora' separate battle honours were not granted, but a special augmentation of 'The Sphinx superscribed "Egypt" ' was placed on the colours of the regiments taking part. This is one of several 'campaign honours'.

About this time there was an important development in infantry weapons, though at this stage it only affected specialist troops. The rifle had long been an experimental weapon and was used a good deal by the Americans. (Rifling was first invented by a German in 1520.) The 60th (KRR) had a few rifles issued in 1758 and its 5th (German) Battalion, formed in 1797, was a Rifle battalion, dressed in green, like the RANGERS of Canada, and was given special training. Then, as a result of the casualties and annoyance caused by the French riflemen in the sand dunes of Holland, in 1799, a Rifle Corps was raised in 1800, which later became the 95th, now the RIFLE BRIGADE. Originally an experimental corps, it was formed from detachments of picked men from fourteen regiments, including the ROYALS, 25th (KOSB), 79th (CAMERONS), and 92nd (GORDONS), the two last forming a kilted Highland Company.

The Baker rifle was much more accurate than the old 'Brown Bess', had a longer range and was of a handier length and weight. It was a flint-lock muzzle-loader, with seven grooves in the barrel

and was sighted for 100 and 200 yards. It was the first to have a butt-trap, in which an oily rag was kept for lubricating the bullets. But it had its disadvantages. The main trouble was that, with the rifling, the ball had to be driven down the barrel with ramrod and mallet—not a convenient process in battle, and probably many a rifleman's thoughts, in moments of stress, went back with picturesque profanity, to the old 'Brown Bess'. Later, various expedients were tried, such as providing the men with a few balls of smaller calibre for use in awkward situations, making 'belted' bullets to fit into the grooves, hollow and expanding bullets of various shapes, and even an oval bore. But, though a rifle—the Minié—was thought efficient enough to be made a general issue during the Crimean War, nothing really solved this problem until the advent of a breech-loader, the first standard one being the Snider, issued in 1866. The main point about rifles in 1800 was that the special training of riflemen soon produced some really first-class troops. (The 26th (CAMERONIANS) became one of these very select regiments in 1881.)

In 1802, partly as the result of Abercrombie's success in Egypt, the Peace of Amiens was signed, but it gave only the feeling of an uneasy and suspicious pause in the war.

During this period both battalions of the ROYALS went through an unsatisfactory time. The 2nd went from Egypt to Malta and there it fell into a state of the grossest indiscipline. Men were drunk, dirty on parade, insubordinate, insulted women, and tried to raise mutiny in other units. It is not very clear why this happened, but it ended with a miniature civil war involving quite a bit of shooting and, after that, order was restored. In 1811 the same battalion, in India, consisted of 30 per cent Scots, 20 per cent English, and 50 per cent Irish, which bears out the story of the shortage of Scots recruits in 1809, when so many Highland regiments were de-kilted. It also accounts for some of the regiment's troubles, as the Irish Catholics in it were then carrying on a sort of vendetta against the rest.

The 1st Battalion, in the West Indies, also possessed '223 convicts, culprits and deserters', and probably the Scottish system of a very reasonable sort of discipline, intended for good soldiers, had not adapted itself to the grim severity needed for such types. Presumably the climate and the resumption of war in 1803 killed off most of them, as there appears to be no record of disorder in that battalion and in 1806 after winning a battle honour 'ST. LUCIA', there was *one man fit*, 53 sick, 30 on command, and they were 704 under establishment! The West Indies had certainly acquired an evil reputation, which must have been shared evenly with the Army medical services, but there were spots of glamour too. For instance, an officer of the ROYALS described a ball in 1801, which cost £300—

a very considerable sum in those days, and many of the women's dresses had cost £150, or more. In 1803 the regiment sent 650 men with an expedition to seize the Dutch republic in S. America,[1] which was done without any fighting, and the Dutch soldiers afterwards joined the British forces.

In 1805 Nelson, like Wolfe and Abercrombie, was killed in his hour of greatest success, when he shattered the French fleet at TRAFALGAR, ended the menace of invasion, and changed the whole aspect of the war. His body was brought home (in a barrel of spirits) and was given a state funeral at St. Paul's. The 79th, 92nd, and two squadrons of the GREYS formed part of an impressive cortege, consisting of three brigades of infantry, with cavalry and artillery, which formed up on the Horse Guards Parade. Major Cameron of the 92nd, wrote that 'though the honour was great, the trouble was by no means slight', as they were on parade from 0600 hours to 1900 hours. About this time the same officer had some trouble with the regimental families, who lived in huts outside the barracks at Colchester. He was 'perfectly shocked' at 'infamous scenes' of gambling, drinking and disorderly conduct, and ordered the pioneers to burn down Pte. M'Kean's hut. He also said that Mrs. M'Kean would be drummed out of the regiment if there was any repetition.

The year 1806 found Scottish troops again exploring distant parts of the world. Under Sir David Baird a force of 6,000, which included a Highland Brigade, composed of the 71st (HLI), the 72nd (SEAFORTH), and the 93rd (A & S), was sent to recapture the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, owing to its importance on the route to India. It had been occupied by the Dutch from about 1650 and was an important station of the Dutch East India Company, until the Company's decline towards the end of the eighteenth century. Then, in 1795, after operations in which the 78th and 91st took part, Admiral Elphinstone had captured it, but under the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, it was handed back to the Batavian Republic (the Netherlands was so called under France, 1795–1806).

The expedition of 1806 landed successfully and, after some fighting on the BLAAUBERG (Blue Mountains), mainly concerning the Highland Brigade, the Dutch commander surrendered. The Cape Colony had been taken at the cost of about 200 casualties. Afterwards Major John Graham of the 93rd formed a corps of 'Hottentots' from men of a Dutch native battalion, disbanded in accordance with the terms of surrender, and this is reputed to have been the origin of the CAPE MOUNTED RIFLES. The 93rd remained at the Cape until 1814, and had the reputation of being such a well behaved unit, that their presence was excused from Garrison parades which were held to witness floggings. (It was at about this time that King

[1] This became the Colony of British Guiana.

George III expressed his opinion that no flogging should exceed one thousand lashes! It was not until 1881 that 'Corporal Punishment' was finally 'discharged with ignominy.')

In 1814 England paid £6,000,000 to retain British Guiana and The Cape.

In 1806 the 71st (HLI) became involved in a hare-brained scheme, devised by Sir Home Popham, Commodore of the Naval Squadron at The Cape, and described by Fortescue as 'criminal imbecility'. It was a plan, reminiscent of the buccaneering days of Drake and Raleigh, to seize the Spanish colony of RIO DE LA PLATA, and use its wealth to aid the war effort. (Incidentally it is recorded that the Navy made a speciality of organizing expeditions which were likely to provide useful quantities of prize money and that its Scottish officers were more expert than most at devising such schemes.) So the ships put out from Table Bay to Jamestown, the quaint little seaport wedged in between the hills of St. Helena, where they picked up a few odd reinforcements and headed across the South Atlantic. The troops landed near BUENOS AIRES, a town which then had a population of 70,000, defeated a casually organized Spanish force and accepted the surrender of the city. So far everything was marvellous, but the 71st, 800 strong, were left in occupation and the job of holding down immense numbers of proud and knife-ready Spaniards, who could arm and organize in the surrounding country, was obviously impracticable. In due course the 71st, after incurring 165 casualties, were forced to surrender, but, from various accounts, a genuine comic opera atmosphere pervaded this glamorous city of the South, and their captivity was by no means as unpleasant as it might have been.

But eventually this foolish enterprize involved something like 10,000 troops and much blood was shed in a large-scale attack on MONTEVIDEO (a battle honour of the RIFLE BRIGADE). It all ended in complete futility, except that the terms of the evacuation (now becoming a familiar feature of these wars) included the release of British prisoners. So in 1807 the 71st returned to duty.

The very successful battle of Maida, in Southern Italy, 1805, at which the 2/78th (SEAFORTH) was present, should, according to Fortescue, have resulted in Italy becoming the main theatre of war, but, owing to bad co-operation between the Generals, the force had to be withdrawn to Sicily.

The 2/78th were next involved in another of those expeditions which ended in humiliating evacuation, this time in EGYPT in 1807. Colonel Macleod (who had carried on throughout the battle of MAIDA, 1805, with a bullet wound less than an inch from his heart) was killed at EL HAMET with practically the whole of one Company and some men of the 35th (ROYAL SUSSEX).

Of the few who survived as prisoners, two opportunists used their wits to profit out of their misfortunes. Pte Thomas Keith became General Ibrahim Aga, Governor of Medina, and a drummer, with some sketchy experience of first-aid, became Osman 'the learned leech' of Alexandria!

During the years 1805–7, the prospects of the war again became exceedingly black, as Napoleon, who had been crowned Emperor in 1804, won crushing victories over the Austrians, Prussians, and Russians, at AUSTERLITZ, JENA, and FRIEDLAND, which for the time being left Britain as his only surviving enemy.

The main scene of activity of the Scottish regiments now shifts to Portugal and Spain, where the longest campaign of this long-drawn-out war was fought, and where many of these regiments spent years of very exacting service.

The PENINSULAR WAR, 1808–14, was fought in a country of mountains and forests, fertile areas alternating with dusty barren highlands and pleasant districts where grapes and peaches flourished and wine and music occupied the summer evenings.

In summer the troops had to fight and march in tropical heat, and in winter heavy snow and biting winds on the uplands added to their difficulties. The frequent retreats, with the feeling of frustration they produced, and the inadequacy of the transport system (mainly native ox-carts) which often resulted in famine conditions, put a great strain on endurance and discipline. Hundreds of miles had to be covered on 'roads' which quickly cut army shoes to pieces. On one of these marches the 92nd (GORDONS) had to improvise rough moccasins from the skins of the beef ration, and frequently men had to face the winter dressed in rags and patches.

All this was punctuated by some of the bloodiest battles in history, where many regiments were practically annihilated and, not very surprisingly, there were occasions when exhausted men, who had just survived hours of mass butchery, and been left without officers or n.c.o.'s, broke into wine stores and sought oblivion from military discipline. Considering the number of criminal types enlisted, there were remarkably few of these incidents.

Like all army service it had its interludes and, during static periods, many happy evenings were spent at parties in billets and barns. Occasionally the Scottish regiments indulged in Highland dancing, and the sounds of pipes and drums echoing through the dimly-lighted 'plazas', brought big audiences, among them dark-eyed damsels whom the 'language-bar' could not defeat, and even closely-guarded senoritas managed to get a balcony view. Foxhounds, imported by the Duke of Wellington, provided one excellent form of sport and, from the C.-in-C. downwards, all were keen on coursing.

With the exception of the GREYS, which had a long spell of home service, from 1795 to 1815, and the 72nd and 78th (SEAFORTH), all the Scottish regiments took part in at least some of the Peninsular campaigns. The 72nd went from The Cape to India, and the 78th was sent on expeditions to MAURITIUS and JAVA, and remained in the East until 1817. In JAVA there were a number of actions against the Dutch and, in 1812, it took part in the storming of the stronghold of the Sultan of DJOCJOCARTA—an affair which produced a goodly share of prize money.

The Peninsular War began after Napoleon, as an ally, had moved an army into Spain, and then treacherously placed his brother Joseph on the throne. The Spaniards were so infuriated and, though fighting hard in an unorganized way, so helpless, that they asked England for assistance: a case of two old enemies getting together in a common cause. Wellesley landed at the MONDEGO RIVER in August 1808, with a force of 10,000, which included the 71st (HLI) and the 91st (A & S), and fought successful battles at ROLICA and VIMIERA, where Corporal John McKay, 71st, captured a French General and was rewarded by a commission in the West India Regiment. As a result of Trafalgar the Navy was able to convoy reinforcements (when any were available), and Wellesley's numbers had reached 18,000 when Moore, who had just returned from a more than usually futile expedition to Sweden, joined him with another 10,000.

Lisbon was secured as a base (Ferrol, Corunna and Cadiz were also used at various times) and Wellington's plan was to build up his forces, in a safe retreat with the Navy supplying him, establish a good intelligence network in Spain, and make expeditions whenever there was a chance of meeting the French on reasonable terms. When they became so numerous as to threaten his destruction, he retreated and, knowing that they always lived on the country, he took care to see that no supplies remained in his rear.

As regards reinforcements, the Spaniards were not a great success as regular troops, but as guerillas they were unexcelled and nearly every French straggler had his throat cut. In retaliation the French used to torture the inhabitants and burn them alive, and, by way of super-retribution, some charming specimens suspended a captured French General by his heels, and sawed him in half, as a butcher saws a sheep's carcase. Wellesley (who became Wellington after the battle of TALAVERA, 1809) had more success with the Portuguese, whom he trained under British officers and n.c.o.'s, making use of his experiences with the Indian Army. This work was entrusted to Sir William Beresford, who had commanded the 71st (HLI) at Buenos Aires, and he produced excellent results.

Altogether there were seven separate campaigns, one under

Moore, and six under Wellington ending with the victorious advance, right through Spain into France in 1814.

In the second stage of the war Sir John Moore was ordered to advance into Spain with four divisions, among which were battalions of RS, CAMERONIANS, BW, HLI, CAMERONS, GORDONS and A & SH, intending to join forces with the Spanish and make a full scale attack on the French. Preparations were inadequate, and so was his information about the enemy, the country, and the Spaniards, of whom two armies had been defeated by the time his divisions had concentrated at Salamanca, only one remaining in existence and that under a General who went his own way and refused to co-operate.

Marshals Soult, Junot, Mortier and Leferbe, with a total of 100,000 men were closing in from various directions and Napoleon, with 40,000 more, was on the way from Madrid so, in his own words Moore 'had to run for it'. The retreat, which began on Xmas Eve 1808, and lasted until 11th January, has often been described as a masterpiece—if a somewhat negative one.

It involved a march of 200 miles and crossing the Cantabrian Mountains, in alternate spells of snow, rain, frost and mud, with the enemy on their heels all the time. Transport broke down, and often there were no rations. The men were ill-clad and had no shelter at night and they reached the stage when many were limping barefooted, and the sight of a turnip field caused regiments to break ranks in a rush for food. In many cases march-discipline ceased to exist, and Bugler John MacFarlane of the 71st said that at such times the officers lost all authority, and that there was much pilfering, mainly of food from the villages they passed. But, once formed up for battle, discipline returned and the men invariably gave a good account of themselves.

It was Moore's intention to embark at CORUNNA but, on arrival, there were no transports and, while they waited for them, the enemy pressed on in great numbers. This was the occasion for the troops to show that, in spite of all the hardships and the exhaustion of the long and depressing retreat, they had by no means lost their fighting spirit. They turned on the French with grim satisfaction and 'knocked hell out of them', in a great battle lasting four hours, during which Sir David Baird, who had joined Moore, with a force in which were the 1st SCOTS GUARDS, lost an arm, and Moore himself was killed. This had the effect of making the French remain at a respectful distance while a night embarkation was carried out, and Sir John Moore was buried 'by the light of a lantern dimly burning'. He was carried off the field by men of the 42nd and the Guards, and was lowered into his grave in the crimson sash of Lieut.-Colonel Paul Anderson, of the 60th RIFLES. (Officers' sashes were originally

designed so that they could be used like hammocks, for carrying them if wounded.)

Once more an expeditionary force arrived back in England, apparently defeated, and this time, owing to the conditions during the retreat, they arrived in the filth of battle, lousy, ragged, and with untended wounds—a sight which caused 'alarm and despondency' among the civilians who saw them. The 92nd lost their Colonel at Corunna, and the black line in the officers' gold lace, and the black buttons on the spats of all ranks, commemorate Sir John Moore, as does the black sword-knot of the OXFORDSHIRE & BUCKINGHAMSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY.

After the evacuation from Corunna, some of the Scottish regiments were sent on other expeditions before returning to the Peninsula, and some did not go back at all. The 25th (KOSB) and 26th (CAMERONIANS) went to the West Indies, where they earned the battle honour 'MARTINIQUE, 1809', the 26th also getting 'GUADELOUPE, 1810'. The 21st (RSF) took part in various operations in the Mediterranean area, and in North America.

In 1809, SG, 71st (1/HLI), 73rd (2/BW), 79th (CAMERONS) and 91st (A & SH) took part in yet another venture to Holland—the WALCHEREN EXPEDITION. There were 40,000 troops but, like the Duke of York, who 'marched them up the hill, and marched them down again', the inactivity of both the naval and military commanders proved fatal. There was a rhyme about them too:

> The Earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn,
> Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan,
> Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
> Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham.

The only result was that 4,000 men died of 'malarial fever' (one always thinks of this as a tropical disease), and once more there was an evacuation, with 11,000 sick.

In Portugal, Wellesley, who had landed again after Corunna, had about 16,000 troops, while the French had about a quarter of a million in various parts of Spain, and he would have made good use of the 40,000 who were sent, so uselessly, to Walcheren.

It would be monotonous to go through all the battles, sieges, assaults and retreats of the Peninsular War. The Scottish regiments had their share in most of them, and HLI, as an instance, has battle honours for Rolica, Vimiera, Corunna, Busaco, Fuentes-de-Onoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Almaraz, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes and Toulouse.

The 71st (1/HLI) had the honour of becoming a Light Infantry regiment in 1809, and it was during the Peninsular War that Robin Craufurd, nicknamed 'Black Bob' (killed at Ciudad Rodrigo), commanded the Light Division.[1] He carried on and developed Moore's

ideas, with such success, that the Division achieved historic fame and its Standing Orders became the pattern for training first-class troops. It was, in fact, far in advance of the remainder of the army, and its march discipline was just one instance of its superiority. It appears that, apart from the GUARDS, whose standard of discipline enabled them to be picked out in a marching column a mile away, the average regiment had not given enough study to this question, and lost many men who fell out with sore feet, or just got tired and straggled behind. In the Light Division discipline was stern and, apparently trivial offences were severely punished, e.g. falling out on the march, without a permit signed by an officer, meant a flogging. Marching speed was carefully regulated and there was a rest for five minutes in every hour.

On halting for the night, every man knew exactly what to do. Bugles regulated the movements. Picquets were posted automatically, reconnoitring patrols went out, shelters were made of branches, heather, &c., cooking began, and everything of the smallest importance (but nothing unnecessary) had its place in the scheme.

If the bugles sounded the alarm at night, every man would be on parade, fully equipped, within seven minutes and, in fifteen minutes, each regiment would be at its alarm post, with baggage loaded and ready to move off.

Similarly in matters of battle formations, tactics, gathering and reporting information, and all other duties, every detail was taken care of. Other regiments, in many cases, had good systems of their own, but results varied as everything depended too much on the temperament and the whims of the Commanding Officer, who was not invariably the ideal man for the job. In the Light Division, everything could function properly, *in spite of* any short-comings of a C.O., or of many officers being killed, and the men were tough and active, proud of their stern discipline, self-reliant, and as Napier said, 'soldiers unsurpassable'. They became as well-known in the French Army, as in our own, and after one expensive attempt to susprise a picquet at night, at the bridge of Barba del Puerco (Beard of the Pig), they never tried any more experiments on the Light Division. This Division, aided by Light Cavalry and guerillas, for long protected Wellesley's main force, kept his movements concealed from the enemy, and provided him with full information about all their activities. So its very important part in the Peninsular War (which included many stirring battle episodes, in addition to its protective and reconnaissance work), and specially its far-reaching influence on the subsequent training of the army, make it worthy of study by all keen soldiers.

At that time there were two Scottish Light Infantry regiments—

[1] General Craufurd was the third son of Sir Alexander Craufurd, Bart., of Newark, Ayrshire, and had enlisted in the 25th (KOSB) at the age of fifteen.

the 71st and 90th—but the others were very fortunate in their Commanding Officers (many of whom were killed) and had their own efficient systems of discipline. Another advantage they enjoyed was that, until the acute shortage of Highland recruits developed, about 1808, they had been able to enlist a much higher proportion of good types than the English regiments.

In 1810, Wellington came out of his lair to confront Marshal Massena, and beat him at BUSACO, where SG, RS, BW, HLI and CAMERONS were in action. Then, being heavily outnumbered, he retired slowly into the secretly-prepared lines of TORRES VEDRAS, leaving Massena and his army, scanning with amazement the barrier of hills which had been transformed into an enormous fortress astride the Lisbon peninsula, with the Navy on both flanks and, behind them, country which Wellington had denuded of all supplies.

The following year, 1811, there were important battles at BARROSA, FUENTES DE ONORO, where SG, 71st (HLI), 73rd (BW), 74th (2/HLI) and 79th (CAMERONS) distinguished themselves, and an individual Scot, Lieut. Norman Ramsay, ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY (formed in 1793), made history in a small way. When cut off by a large body of French cavalry and about to be surrounded and captured, he put his two gun-teams to the gallop and, escorted by the mounted gunners with drawn swords, they charged—guns and all—smack through the middle of the enemy—and got away. ARROYO DOS MOLINOS, ALBUHERA, and several smaller engagements followed in the same year. Scottish regiments took part in all except Albuhera, which was a purely English affair. So it went on, until 1814; advances, battles, retreats, sieges. Outside the peninsula, two important events occurred in 1812, Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which helped by annihilating a great part of the French Army, and the American invasion of Canada, which diverted reinforcements from the Peninsula.

An account of the assault on one of the breaches at SAN SEBASTIAN in 1813 gives an idea of that type of fighting, and of how plans could go wrong, and how lives hung on details such as a guide missing the track and a man firing when he should not. The 'Forlorn Hope' (a party who volunteered to lead the way and test the breach, before the main body became involved) consisted of the Light Company of RS under Lieutenant Clarke, and twenty men of the 9th (ROYAL NORFOLK) led by Colin Campbell (later Sir Colin). At 5 a.m. on a dark, wet morning they left their trenches and advanced through slippery mud. The British batteries had not heard the signal (the explosion of a mine) and continued firing on the breach they were to assault. They stumbled along a narrow ledge between a river and the enemy's walls, scrambled up over the debris towards the breach and were met with a deluge of grapeshot, bullets and hand-grenades.

Major Fraser (commanding RS) and a few men got up to the breach only to be killed at once. Then the main body, part of which had lost direction in the dark, arrived piecemeal and formed a solid mass near the foot of the breach, which had been found to be narrower than was expected. The scene was lit up by the rising sun; the enemy was pouring every kind of missile on them from several directions and some confusion resulted, men returning the fire instead of advancing, and the approach becoming filled with wounded and dead. Officers made desperate efforts to collect parties and make a rush. But with no room to move, men falling in dozens, the noise, and the benumbed state of mind of some, it was more than they could do to get them organized, and eventually they were ordered to retire. RS alone lost about 330 killed and wounded. Apparently the preparations and briefing were not sufficiently thorough, as there were failures at other breaches, and the fortress was not taken until twelve days later. Most of the regiments, at various times, had similar heavy losses and RS is only singled out as one example. This incident was also chosen to show how a regiment could become involved in a costly and humiliating failure, which was the fault of no one in particular, but might have been prevented, if each man had known just what he would have to do in such circumstances. During the subsequent operations seventeen volunteers of RS tried by rushing forward, to simulate an attack, and so make the French explode a large mine known to exist in a breach. This would probably have killed them all, but would have cleared the way for an attack. But the French did not blow the mine and only the officer, Lieutenant Macadam, returned.

Another regiment which suffered very heavy casualties was the 71st (HLI), earlier in the same year at VITTORIA (an appropriate name for one of Wellington's most important victories), when they were almost surrounded during hill fighting owing to mistaking French troops for Spaniards. The 92nd (GORDONS) helped to extricate them, but in a very short time they lost 400, including Colonel Cadogan, their Commanding Officer.

Conditions had then changed a great deal and Wellington actually had superior numbers—75,000 British, Portuguese and Spaniards, against Joseph Buonaparte's 55,000 and at last the feeling of final victory was in the air. General Graham, with 20,000 men, including BW, CAMERONS and A & S, was sent about six miles out on the left flank, to cross the Zadorra river and get behind the enemy to cut off his retreat. RS, the 71st, and the 92nd (GORDONS) were with the main force.

It was a spectacular battle and some of the troops had grandstand views from the ridges and hills. Whole divisions could be seen marching into action, across an open valley, the sound of their bands

and pipes coming faintly over the distance, cavalry and guns moving up, and dark-coloured masses of French on the further slopes and in the villages, waiting to receive them. Then the pounding of massed artillery, a long line of dense smoke, flickering with gun-flashes, volleys of musketry, and now and then the distant sound of cheering. Troops making their way up the hills by devious routes, bayonet charges, figures lying still, objects rolling down the slopes, and all the apparently confused movement of battle, could, with a glass, be watched in detail.

The French fought hard from every position, but were well and truly beaten, and the battle ended in a rout, Joseph only just escaping. He had realized that his time was up and was on his way to France, with his court and all its numerous families and a rabble of civilian retainers, plus the accumulated loot of five years spent in robbing the Spaniards. Graham's flank movement rather misfired and did not prevent their retreat, but made their position so awkward that most of the artillery, and all the stores and baggage were abandoned.

The chaotic scene included coaches occupied by fashionably dressed women, some with pet monkeys and parrots, jammed among a confused mass of guns and waggons, whose teams had been cut loose and ridden off at a gallop by fugitive Frenchmen. Other carriages were bogged down in the fields, and everywhere bodies and wounded men lay among every imaginable kind of litter.

The loot was enormous—5,000,000 dollars in Joseph's pay-chest alone, plus untold private wealth in money and valuables and, after the French had outrun the pursuit, auction sales and sharing out went on all night, with the aid of lanterns and rostrums made of planks joining two waggons, while private soldiers scoffed delicately-cured hams and choice vintages. (Looting was strictly forbidden and all the plunder should have gone into Prize Money, to be shared out. Much of it did, but it took time to collect it and put it under guard, and the selfish ones were mainly those who came up *after* the battle.)

The end of the war was now approaching, but before advancing further, the fortresses of San Sebastian and PAMPELUNA were dealt with. Then there was the crossing of the Pyrenees, involving the important battles of NIVELLE, and NIVE, ORTHES (now in France), and finally the sanguinary battle of TOULOUSE, fought several days after Napoleon had abdicated, when the Prussians, Russians and Austrians were approaching Paris.

As regards the fighting qualities of our troops in this war, French comment is probably more convincing than that of anyone else, and this is what some distinguished enemies said. Marshal Bugeaud (speaking generally of the British Army): '. . . the moral influence (irresistable in action) of a calm which seems undisturbed, as opposed

to disorder which strives to make up by noise what it lacks in firmness, weighed heavily on our hearts.' '. . . the red English line, still silent and motionless . . . would make a quarter-turn . . . a volley of simultaneous precision and deadly effect crashed in upon us.' After a bayonet charge: '. . . to our great surprise, they did not pursue the advantage for more than some hundred yards, and went back with calm to their former lines, to await another attack.' General Foy: 'The English soldier possesses the most desirable of all qualities in war, calmness in anger.' Another famous French General, during a retreat, when urged by his second-in-command to launch an attack and drive off a single enemy division, replied that though only one division, it was a British one, and so could be expected to fight to the last man.

Now, in crossing the Atlantic, the clock must go back, not the normal three or four hours, but two years, to 1812.

The AMERICAN WAR of 1812–14 did not involve the Scottish regular regiments to any great extent, and the only battle honours on their colours are 'Niagara' (RS), and 'Bladensberg' (RSF). The 70th (GLASGOW LOWLAND) REGIMENT[1] served in Canada for fourteen years—1814–28, the 90th (PERTHSHIRE VOLUNTEERS) (2/CAMERONIANS) was sent to Montreal in 1814 and the 93rd (2/A & SH) took part in the unsuccessful attack on New Orleans, near the end of the war. A Canadian regiment—the GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY FENCIBLES—was taken on to the regular establishment in 1812. It was granted the battle honour 'NIAGARA' and was disbanded in 1816. But it was a crucial point in the history of Canada, and almost every fit man served in the Militia. (Appendix II mentions several regiments in which there was a strong Scottish element.)

The reasons for the American declaration of war were that Britain had searched American ships at sea and has 'impressed' British sailors (now claiming to be naturalized Americans) serving in them, this action having resulted from the carrying of contraband cargoes.

With good generalship they could have had it all their own way, as there were under 7,000 regular troops in the whole country and, at the beginning, only very few of the Militia were trained and ready for service. In addition the Americans had navigational control of the Great Lakes and a far larger population from which to raise their forces. But they did not distinguish themselves, and in the first year they were defeated when they tried to take DETROIT, and again by General Brock, C.-in-C. and Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, whose skilful tactics shattered an attack by 10,000 Americans at NIAGARA. (Brock's regiment was the 49th (1/R. Berks) and the depot barracks at Reading are named after him. He was

[1] From 1820, 2nd Bn., 31st Regiment (EAST SURREY).

one of the ablest men and the best soldiers in Canada and his death in this action was a serious blow. His A.D.C., also killed, was John Macdonnell of Glengarry, ancestor of Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Macdonnell Codville who served with the Canadian Scottish in World War II.)

Another attempt on DETROIT was beaten off, and the Americans accomplished nothing that year, but during 1813 they gradually became more efficient as soldiers and some of the successes were on their side.

There was still a great dearth of Scottish recruits and the C.-in-C. Canada expressed his concern at the number of Frenchmen serving in the ROYAL SCOTS. However, they seem to have done 'their stuff', as detachments of the regiment did well in the attack on SACKETTS' HARBOUR and on an American post at SODUS, in the storming of FORT NIAGARA and many minor engagements. Four companies served in the fleet as Marines, but Lawrence Weaver says they were then 'Scots only in name', being composed almost entirely of Irish, English and foreigners. By this date a considerable part of the male population of Scotland, from which recruits might have been available, was living in Canada, and serving with the local Militia regiments.

During 1813 there were numerous minor engagements around lakes ONTARIO and ERIE, in which the Canadian Militia took a full share. In one of these, the attack on the fort at OGDENSBURG, the Church went into action. As the GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY advanced across the ice, under fire from the guns of the fort, a Presbyterian minister marched on one flank, carrying his bible, and on the other, a Catholic padre, holding up a cross. Seeing one man hesitating, the padre warned him, but as this had no effect, he marched across, halted the man, and sonorously excommunicated him for cowardice. Presumably he then rejoined his Company at the double, feeling that the Americans were less awe-inspiring than that hellfire padre!

Another action at CHRYSLER'S FARM, near Cornwall, Ontario, provided some of the GLENGARRY MILITIA with an unusual opportunity. The Americans had been beaten in a fight over the farm, which formed a clearing between a forest and the river, and their cavalry were retiring across the river in boats, swimming their horses. The Glengarries came up in time for their fire to make it so uncomfortable in the boats that the Americans let go their bridles. The horses swam to the bank and a Company of 'Glengarry dragoons' returned to join the battalion.

The GLENGARRY LIGHT INFANTRY, dressed in Rifle-green, became so good at camouflage that the Indians called them 'the Black Stump Brigade', saying that they could often mistake them for dark tree-trunks in the forest, when they were motionlessly awaiting an

enemy's approach. They also were given the job of initiating the 6th (WARWICKSHIRE) and 82nd (P.O.W. VOLUNTEERS) in bush warfare, when they were new to the country.

The 'Star-Spangled Banner' originated during this war, being composed by an American—Francis Scott Key—who for reasons which would take too long to explain, was an unwilling witness of the bombardment of Fort McHenry at Baltimore, from a British ship, in the Patapsco River. The firing went on during the day and through the night. He anxiously watched the flag until darkness hid it, and was so thrilled to see it still fluttering in the light of the rising sun, that he gave vent to his patriotic feelings by composing the words. He apparently did not mind their being set to the tune of an English drinking song—'Anacreon in Heaven'!

This war certainly had its moments of humour, but there was serious business too, and in 1814 there was some hard hitting. The Americans won the first battle of the year, at CHIPPEWA. Then came the battle of LUNDY'S LANE, or Niagara, where RS had 172 casualties. This was an all-out fight which began in the afternoon and became even fiercer towards the evening. The infantry closed in as the light failed, and both sides brought guns up into the firing lines, which, for two hours, were never farther apart than the length of a cricket pitch. The gunners fired case-shot and the American infantry, always original in their ideas, loaded their muskets with three buck-shot to each bullet. In the later stages only the flashes of guns and muskets enabled them to see each other and an American officer could be heard repeatedly telling his men to 'fire at their flashes'.

There were continuous scrimmages with bayonet and butt-end, in which all the regiments and units became mixed together, and so involved was the affair that during one movement the gunners limbered up an American gun, by mistake, and the enemy took theirs.

In the end the Americans retreated in some disorder, but the British, having marched about twenty miles on a hot July day, and then fought like this for five hours, were so exhausted that they threw themselves down, to sleep among the dead and wounded and the debris of battle. Casualties were about 650 on each side but there was no decisive result, and it was only after a British failure at FORT ERIE[1], where a magazine blew up and destroyed the storming party after it had got in, and a naval reverse on LAKE CHAMPLAIN, that the climax came with the expedition against WASHINGTON.

[1] In Canada and U.S.A. there is great interest in history, and several of these forts have been restored, by the efforts of various societies, to their original condition. Among these are forts Erie, George, Ticonderoga, Niagara and Old Fort Henry. Every detail has been preserved or restored, down to the furniture, cooking utensils, equipment for preparing red hot shot, &c., &c. The old guns stand in the batteries, portcullises and gates are complete and in some cases there is a guard dressed in the uniform of the forts' most historic period, which performs contemporary evolutions and acts as guides to visitors.

These forts all have interesting histories. Some began in the mid-eighteenth century, as timber block-houses with stockades and ditches, to protect trading posts and act as depots and, if necessary, refuges

An American force of about 6,000 Militia came out to bar the way at BLADENSBURG (battle honour of RSF), but was quickly scattered and WASHINGTON was entered that evening. In retaliation for the burning of Newark and York (Toronto) by the Americans, all the public buildings, arsenals, and ships in the harbour were fired. So unexpected was this disaster to the Americans, that a Company of the 21st (RSF) dined in splendour off a banquet which had been ordered by President Madison to celebrate *their* victory. There was a scene of confusion as crowds of civilians, many in evening dress, hurried away from the advancing troops, through streets and squares lit up by blazing buildings, and the President's wife only just had time to save the famous Gilbert Stuart portrait of Washington and the original document of the Declaration of Independence.

This should have been the end of this useless war, but the Navy's obsession for prize-money led to a foolish and ill-thought-out expedition against New Orleans, where the troops had the task of storming a strongly entrenched position with field redoubts and plenty of artillery. In addition it was protected by rivers and manned by numbers at least equal to their own.

The 21st (RSF) and 93rd (A & S) took part in an assault (8th January 1815) which was an example of how it should not be organized. The General—Packenham, of Peninsula fame—was killed, and 2,000 out of 6,000 troops became casualties, and owing to being halted within close range and not allowed to fire, as the result of a staff officer's blunder, the 78th lost their Colonel and nearly 500 other ranks. It must be admitted that the Admirals who tried to hatch this bad egg were all Scots—Cockrane, Cockburn, and Malcolm, good men at their own job but, in this case, their lust for dollars became a crime against the Army, for which they should have swung from a yard-arm! In any case the expedition and the bloodshed proved entirely unnecessary as it was found that peace had been declared about three weeks before the assault took place.

When all this futility was ended, Canada and U.S.A. began to grow up into separate nations, and to acquire some respect for one another, and now, a century-and-a-half later, it would be hard to find better neighbours.

for the boats on the Great Lakes, and to secure the waterways joining the lakes, and strategic land routes.

Some were besieged by Indians and some were held at different periods by British, French and American troops. At various times they were modernised, and developed all the features of European fortresses—massive stone walls, with moats, bastions, ravelines, redans and keeps. There are drawbridges, casemates, magazines, Martello towers, and barracks—some like stone prison buildings, others constructed of heavy timbers.

Some of the forts were garrisoned until late in the nineteenth century, but as Canada and U.S.A. gradually became more friendly, defences became unnecessary and eventually their 3,500 miles frontier was left without a single gun.

At Williamsburg, Virginia, restoration has gone much further and with elaborate research and enormous expense, the whole town has reverted to the period preceding the Revolutionary War—in the hope 'that the future may learn from the past'.

CHAPTER VI · 1815

WATERLOO

On 2nd April 1814, the man who had kept the world in a state of war for so many years was taken, as a prisoner, to the Mediterranean island of Elba. But the Allies, in confining him so near home, seem to have under-rated the fact that so many Frenchmen still regarded him as a sort of Mars, for whom they would willingly risk their lives again; and, for some reason, they failed to occupy France. By 26th February 1815, some of his admirers had contrived his escape and return to Paris, and while the Allies were solemnly debating the future of Europe, at Vienna, France again burst into a blaze of militarism. Napoleon does not appear to us to have been a prepossessing character, yet he had something which appealed enormously to the excitable and patriotic 'sons of the revolution' and, during 'the hundred days', he had no difficulty in raising a large and enthusiastic army for another attempt to conquer the world.

As the result of an expedition in 1814 to free HOLLAND from the French, during which the 2nd Battalion 3rd GUARDS and the 91st (1/A & SH) took part in the battle of BERGEN OP ZOOM, General Graham was still in Antwerp with a small force, which included the 2/78th (SEAFORTH) and became the nucleus of the Waterloo army. British, Dutch and Prussian troops were at once mobilized and a force of over 200,000 was accumulated in the Low Countries. England, as usual, had rushed to disband her forces, and the available infantry, except for six battalions of Peninsula veterans, among them the 71st and 91st, had to be largely filled up with Militia and raw recruits, and there was an acute shortage of gunners and drivers. The Dutch, Belgians and Germans were also doubtful as regards efficiency and, in some cases, loyalty. Wellington's remark on a previous occasion (on inspecting some reinforcements in the Peninsula), would have been equally appropriate here. 'I don't know what the enemy will think of them, but, by God, they frighten me.' He described this collection as 'the worst army I ever commanded.' Marshal Blücher was more fortunate in having an army composed entirely of his own countrymen, but he was by no means the General that Wellington was.

Owing to the difficulty of billeting and feeding such large numbers, and the need for guarding lines of communication, the allies were spread over a wide area of country. Napoleon's first move was to advance suddenly, with the intention of driving a wedge between the two forces, before they could concentrate, and then dealing with them piecemeal. He had calculated that each of them would attach more importance to securing his own bases and lines of retreat than to supporting his ally, and thus they would leave a widening gap as they retired. But this under-rating of his enemies resulted in his fighting Blücher at LIGNY and Wellington at QUATRE BRAS, about six miles away, on the same day—16th June 1815. Both forces reacted so strongly that two large-scale actions developed, which was not at all what he wanted.

At Quatre Bras Wellington was heavily outnumbered at first, and the Dutch and Belgians played an important part in taking the brunt of the early part of the battle. But the French Corps Commander, Reille, had had some experience of the Duke in Spain, and seeing some red coats (actually Staff officers) in the Bois de Bossu, he suspected whole divisions lurking under the trees, and so delayed his main attack for more of his own troops to come up. Meanwhile Wellington's divisions were arriving—among them, five Scottish regiments—2nd Battalion 3rd GUARDS, 3rd Battalion ROYAL SCOTS, 42nd (BW), 92nd (GORDONS) and 79th (CAMERONS). Except for SG (1st Division), they were all in Picton's (5th) Division.

They had received orders during the night and marched to a rendezvous, began breakfasting, got orders to move in the middle of it, and then marched about twenty miles on hot dusty roads. The sound of guns gave them an idea of what was happening and they stepped out to be in time. Eventually the whole division formed line on the Namur–Nivelle road, Light Companies went forward in extended order through fields of standing corn and the line moved into action. From then on events moved rapidly—French infantry were continually moving up, disorganized Allied regiments moving back, batteries opening fire. Enemy cavalry seemed to be everywhere, and it was hard to distinguish between French, and Brunswickers and other Allied nationalities. The 42nd were deceived in this way by some lancers, and two companies were badly cut up, and the Colonel was killed, but the survivors rallied into little groups, while the remainder of the battalion formed square, and the lancers in between ended by having a rough time. Wellington himself was carried away in the backwash of a cavalry charge, when the Brunswick Hussars were driven back with French cavalry among them, 'cutting them down horribly', and galloped to where the 92nd were lining a bank. He shouted to the men to keep down and cleared the bank, hedge, and men, in good hunting style. All

the afternoon and evening were spent in forming square to receive cavalry, forming line to bring fire on to infantry, moving from place to place, driving enemy out of buildings, or being suddenly bombarded by artillery. In one bayonet charge, in which Colonel Cameron of the GORDONS was killed, General Barnes (the A.-G., who had been their Brigadier) could not resist the excitement, and calling out 'Come on, my old 92nd', he led them, riding beside the Colonel.

The fight went on until about 9 p.m., and the French effort was defeated, but casualties had been very severe. The GORDONS lost about a third of their number, the ROYALS (RS) over 200, and others had similar losses. Wellington specially mentioned the 28th (GLOUCESTERS), 42nd, 79th and 92nd in his dispatch.

At Ligny the Prussians had been roughly handled and forced to retreat, but Blücher, in spite of injuries from a fall, was quite ready to fight again, and Wellington had the greatest faith in him as an ally. One instance of the luck of war was that D'Erlon's Corps, owing to confusion of orders, marched back and forth and so took no part in either action. If this had not happened it seems more than likely that Napoleon would have won either at Quatre Bras, or at Ligny, and the final result might have been very different.

Next day, as the French did not renew the attack according to expectation, Wellington retired his force to a site he had selected as a suitable battle-ground, at Mont St. Jean, near the village of WATERLOO and Blücher concentrated at Wavre, about twelve miles away.

The night of the 17th was a miserable one. The hot weather broke with violent thunderstorms and downpours of tropical intensity. Most of the troops were out in fields and the best they could do was to gather little piles of whatever crop happened to be there, on which to lie, but the wet and mud came through everything and in the morning they looked like men who had just played Rugger on a waterlogged pitch.

They 'stood to' at dawn, were given an issue of rum or gin, and later were allowed to light fires (which was not easy) and cook, clean weapons, and tidy up generally. The French had followed the retreat at a respectful distance and were in like condition, but were not permitted to light fires.

It was Sunday morning, 18th June 1815, and as the church bells were ringing in peaceful villages, the final scene was being set. The opposing lines were roughly three miles long and half a mile deep, including reserve lines, cavalry, &c., and the furthest distance between them was about a mile. Lined up in these small areas Wellington had 63,000 men of mixed nationalities (of which about 24,000 were British) and 156 guns, against Napoleon's 70,000 Frenchmen

and 224 guns. Wellington's troops held the ridge of Mont St. Jean, with a line of guns just forward of the crest and the bulk of his men on the reverse slope. General Sir Brian Horrocks recently said the position was 'precisely what any modern commander would adopt to-day'. The two Guards Brigades—Maitland's and Byng's—were on the right of the line, and about five hundred yards to their front was the Château of Hougoumont. Picton's division, which included Pack's HIGHLAND BRIGADE, formed the left-centre, with the farm of La Haye Sainte to their right front and the hamlet of Papelotte to their left front. Ponsonby's Union Brigade, in which were the ROYALS, GREYS and INNISKILLINGS, was in rear of Picton's division, forming part of a long line of cavalry brigades

The French were on a parallel ridge and, from certain points, nearly the whole of both armies could be seen—over 130,000 men, all dressed in brilliant uniforms and lined up in correct formations. It was one of the world's most sinister and dramatic sights, such as has never been seen again, and few people can have much realization of the appearance of such huge numbers of disciplined troops, standing ready to blast and hack each other to pieces. There was plenty of time to admire the view, as guns and cavalry took long to get into position, owing to the state of the ground. Later, when the music of bands and bursts of cheering from the French lines drew attention to a small man on a white horse, accompanied by a bunch of staff officers, moving slowly along their lines, the most dull-witted soldier in either army could hardly have failed to realize that he was about to take part in a world-shaking event. There is a story, which comes in at this point, that an English gunner officer, asked a certain general to look along one of his guns. When he did so, he saw just over the foresight the said white horse and figure in cocked hat with one hand inside his lapel—but he would not allow the gun to be fired.

At 11.50 the first shot was fired, and, to quote Wellington (in a letter to Beresford), 'Never did I see such a pounding match—Napoleon did not manoeuvre at all. He just moved forward in the old style, in columns, and was driven off in the old style. The only difference was, that he mixed cavalry with infantry, and supported both with an enormous quantity of artillery.' (Wellington's anxiety about his right flank had caused him to detach a force of about 17,000 troops to protect it, and these did not take part in the battle.)

'I had the infantry for some time in squares, and we had the French cavalry walking about us as if they had been our own. I never saw the British infantry behave so well.' He also said 'It has been a damned nice thing—the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life.'

That gives the correct impression in the smallest possible number of words. Much could be said about the spectacular onslaughts of

PLATE V

Left to right

1815
1st or the Royal Scots
Colour-Sergeant (*service dress*)

1816
The 2nd or Royal North British Dragoons (GREYS)
Officer (*service dress*)

1828
The 79th Regiment of Cameron Highlanders
Coy. Officer

1810
The 78th Highlanders (2/SEAFORTH)
Field Officer

1808
The 92nd Highlanders (2/GORDONS)
Drummer

1845
The 93rd Highlanders (2/A & SH)
Piper (*Rob Roy tartan*)

1850
The 90th Perthshire Volunteers (Light Infantry) (2/CAMERONIANS)
Private

1846
The 21st or R.N.B. Fusiliers (RSF)
Coy. Officer

1828
The 3rd Foot Guards (SG)
Coy. Officer

1818
The 3rd Foot Guards (SG)
Negro tambourine player

1873
The Highland Rifle Militia
Rifleman (*marching order*)

1857
The 93rd Highlanders (2/A & SH)
Lance-Corporal (*India service dress*)

1856
The Scots Fusilier Guards (SG)
Sergeant-Major

1844
The 92nd Highlanders (2/GORDONS)
Sergeant, Grenadier Coy. (*drill order*)

1853
The 74th (Highland) Regiment (2/HLI)
Officer (*Lamont tartan*)

PLATE V

Figures A, B & C

the enormous French columns which included attacks by 12,000 cavalry in one mass, and the heroism (there is no other word) of the thin, battered lines of red-coats—mostly men who had never been in action before, who held their ground, while being bombarded by massed artillery and constantly attacked by these huge numbers. But here we can only mention a few of the experiences of the Scottish regiments.

As stated, Hougoumont (Château du Goumont) was an advanced post in front of the two Guards Brigades, and was at first held by the Light Companies of all the Guards regiments, with some Hanoverians, under Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell (Coldstream). Reinforcements, sent at various times, included the whole of the 2nd Battalion 3rd GUARDS. The buildings and garden walls had been hastily loopholed and prepared for defence and, as it was a 'thorn in the side' of the French attacks on Wellington's main line, and would, conversely, have been a great help to them if they had secured it, it was attacked continuously, by division after division. About a thousand men, on both sides, were killed or wounded during the first hour and many more during the rest of the day. The château, the chapel, and the stables were set on fire by artillery, and the 3rd GUARDS alone lost 12 officers and 227 other ranks. The fight was by no means confined to manning the loopholes, and attack and counter-attack ranged over the gardens, the orchards and the adjoining wood, throughout the day. At one stage when enemy pressure was extremely severe, the gates of the main yard were opened to let in a small party of the 3rd GUARDS. Sergeant A. Fraser, in command of the party, was the last to return and only got back by dragging a French Colonel (Cubières) off his horse, and riding it in.

Just as the gates were closing a French officer seized an axe from a pioneer and swung a blow at the fastening, which damaged it, and he and a few men got inside. (They were the only ones to get in, and they never came out.) The Guards then made a rush to the gates and, by a concerted effort, forced them shut against the advancing enemy. Colonel Macdonell and four sergeants and a private of the 3rd GUARDS, with some officers and men of the COLDSTREAM, did the actual forcing, and Wellington said later that the success of the battle turned on the closing of those gates. This was probably true, as later in the day, owing to using up a whole Corps of 30,000 men at Hougoumont, Napoleon was unable to provide Ney with enough infantry to make a break-through at the crisis of the battle, when La Haye Sainte was taken, and part of the British line was forced back. (The range from Hougoumont to La Haye and from there to Papelotte was, in each case, under a mile and it appears that a few batteries at these points firing shrapnel, could have enfiladed the main French attacks with great effect—as they came down from the

French ridge, in the low ground, and as they ascended the slope to the Allies' ridge. But Wellington must have had good reasons for keeping all his artillery in his main position. Napoleon had nearly twice his number of guns and he probably thought it unwise to risk losing any, in the event of his advanced posts being enveloped and taken.)

Picton's Division, in which were the other Scottish infantry regiments (except the 71st), came in for the brunt of the bombardments, and was subjected to repeated infantry attacks, all of which they withstood. At one particularly exciting and critical moment during the attack by D'Erlon's Corps, the division, whose two British Brigades, since Quatre Bras, were only about 3,000 strong, was faced by 10,000 French infantry making for a gap in their line just created by the retreat of Bylandt's Dutch-Belgian brigade. This brigade had been in an exposed position, on the forward slope, and had stuck it well, until the bombardment preceding D'Erlon's attack, which had proved too much for them and, when the French infantry arrived, they cleared.

Picton saw that if this large force got through the gap the whole position would be endangered, so he advanced his two brigades, in which were the ROYAL SCOTS, the 42nd, the 79th, and the 92nd, towards the sunken road, which ran right across the front of the line.

The enemy paused at a hedge bordering this road to get their breath for the final charge, and Sir Denis Pack ordered the 92nd, which was in front, to charge them. Picton, just behind, roared out to Kempt, the other brigadier, 'A volley. Then charge!' and as he (Picton) started to lead the two brigades, he was shot dead. At that moment the UNION BRIGADE came up (it is very noticeable in Wellington's battles how often help came at exactly the crucial moment) and the GREYS, being the left regiment, happened to come over the ground occupied by the GORDONS. The Highlanders, with pipes playing, were just ready to charge, when they had to 'make way' for the GREYS. As they came through there were shouts of 'Scotland for ever!' from both regiments, and the whole lot charged together, many Gordons holding on to the stirrup leathers. Some got knocked over by the horses, but the result was a tremendous success. After a few minutes, when the regiments returned to the line, all that remained was a piece of ground strewn all over with dead and wounded Frenchmen and their equipment, and 3,000 prisoners on their way to the rear.

But the fate of the UNION BRIGADE (which became involved with that of the HOUSEHOLD BRIGADE) is a sad story. It seems that both men and horses became battle-mad. On and on they went, in full career, through D'Erlon's infantry, cutting down retreating Frenchmen, through a battery, sabring the gunners and spiking or over-

turning the guns, on through the French position, to where they had eighty guns lined up. Colonel Hamilton, vainly trying to halt them, disappeared among the enemy and was killed, as were most of the officers. The trumpets sounded the rally, but nothing could stop them.

Then Napoleon, remarking on 'ces terribles chevaux gris', sent regiments of Polish Lancers and French Cuirassiers to deal with them and, with horses blown and Troops disorganized, they had not a chance. Ponsonby, their Brigadier, was killed and few came back.

One of those who did was Sergeant Ewart, who had cut down a French officer and two men, in capturing a French 'eagle', which he brought back. This became the regimental badge and gave the GREYS the nickname of 'the Birdcatchers'. ('Cut down' is the right expression, as the sword of the heavy cavalry had a blade 1½ in. wide, with a blunt end, and could in no circumstances be used for thrusting.)

At the end of the day the GREYS, who had been the show regiment of the cavalry, could barely muster one squadron. One account said the whole brigade had only thirty-three officers and men when they bivouacked for the night, but it was such a hectic day that no one seems to have been very clear about it afterwards.

The GREYS took part in several other charges during the day, and had also lost heavily from gunfire. There was a macabre incident during one of the periods when they were sitting on their horses, under fire, waiting for orders. A prowling French rifleman shot and killed a dragoon, who remained sitting upright on his horse. Even on a field where shocking sights were to be seen on every side, this looked so horrible that after a few minutes an officer had him removed.

The 71st (1/HLI) was not with the other Scottish regiments, but was in Adam's Light Brigade, with two famous English regiments, the 52nd (OXFORDSHIRE LIGHT INFANTRY), and the 2/95th (RIFLE BRIGADE). This brigade was in reserve until, at about 3 p.m., they were moved forward. They were then on the crest of the ridge slightly to the left of Hougoumont, and until 6.30 p.m. they stood in squares and were, in turn, bombarded by Napoleon's eighty-gun battery, and charged by huge masses of cavalry. At one time Wellington was sheltering inside the square formed by the 71st.

When the final attack was made by the Imperial Guard, one column was dealt with by Maitland's brigade (in recognition of which action the 1st GUARDS became the GRENADIERS), and the other by Adam's brigade. As they came up, Colonel Colborne advanced the 52nd, and wheeled so as to bring them under fire from their left flank as well as their front. Then the 52nd charged and the remain-

der of the brigade followed up. The result was that these picked troops, who had advanced so impressively, and on whom the fate of France now depended, were hurled down the slope in a confused and panic-stricken rabble.

An example of the almost super-human determination which won the battle was given by Ensign Kennedy of the ROYAL SCOTS. It was at about eight o'clock, when the general advance began. Four officers and the Sergeant-Major had been shot down while carrying the King's Colour, and when it came to Kennedy's turn he soon shared their fate. A sergeant went to save the Colour, but though Kennedy was dead, he could not release his grip, and had to carry his body with it. It was one of those moments when a generous feeling of admiration is forced on a chivalrous enemy, and a French officer ordered his men to cease fire while the sergeant removed his burden. At Quatre Bras and Waterloo the strength of this regiment was reduced from 624 to 363.

A different type of incident, at the end of the day, was when an officer of the 92nd caught a very fine charger, but, instead of getting a pair of good pistols out of the holsters, as he expected, one contained a roast chicken and the other a bottle of champagne. He, and the surviving officers with him, thought these were the two most acceptable things they could possibly have found at that moment.

The battle ended, after the repulse of the Imperial Guard, and the arrival of Blücher's Prussians had finally shattered the enemy's morale. The triumphal advance of the whole British line came then, and was followed by the disintegration and rout of Napoleon's army, which was pursued throughout the night by the Prussians.

Captain Reid's Company of the 71st (HLI) claimed to have fired the last shot on the field of Waterloo, when after capturing a battery from the Imperial Guard (the last of the French to make a stand) they turned one of its guns and fired on the retreating enemy.

Wellington's casualties were about 15,000 (Blücher's 7,000), and many of the British regiments lost half their men, or more, but his ploughboys and Militiamen had completely destroyed what, up till then, had been the largest and finest army in the world. The Scottish regiments bore their full share of the casualties. As one instance, the 79th (Camerons), ended the day under the command of a subaltern, Lieutenant Alexander Cameron, having lost 479 officers and men, out of 776, and Siborne mentioned the 73rd (2/BW, not a Highland regiment at that time) as one of the three regiments which were most exposed to the French cavalry and artillery. The pipers 'did their stuff' as usual, and played during the French attacks and in the charges, and Piper Mackay of the 79th marched round the outside of the regimental square during one of the French attacks.

The 91st HIGHLANDERS (1 A & SH) felt unlucky, as they did not come into the main battle, though they took part in the pursuit. They received the medal for the campaign, but not the battle honour, and a minor distinction was that the leading man of the Allied armies entering Paris, was a drummer of the 91st, carrying the flag of truce.

Similarly the 2/78th (SEAFORTH), which was in garrison at Nieupoort, had no part in the battle. They had distinguished themselves in the operations at Antwerp, but had been reduced by sickness to a strength of only about 150 effectives.

The aftermath must have been one of the grimmest sights the world has seen. The cold phrase '22,000 casualties' may mean little, without imagination. But to think of forty-five or fifty thousand (including the French) mangled bodies and maimed, unhappy, groaning creatures, plus thousands of horses dead or pitifully dragging broken limbs, all in a space of three miles by two, gives a very different picture. All the grand uniforms bedraggled in mud and blood, the waste of everything, the years of suffering to come for many, the bereft families—this is the underside of the glamour of war, and Napoleon did not care. He had caused it often. How many times in history has one of these great men insisted on dying with the troops he had led to defeat?

There was no comfort about being wounded in those days. There were no ambulances or nurses and the regimental wives were the only women who could be called on for help. Methods of surgery were worse than crude—no anaesthetics, except possibly an overdose of rum, and the usual 'operating theatre' was a farmyard, with some planks over a couple of barrels for the 'table'. The whole place would be soaked with blood, like a slaughterhouse, and crowds of wounded lying about in the filth, awaiting their turn. When it came, bullets were hastily probed for and gouged out, legs and arms hacked and sawn off. (Speed was essential as one Surgeon might have to deal with hundreds.) There were no antiseptics and the only way to stop the bleeding was to apply boiling oil or pitch. But these men were tough and some could smoke their old black pipes and make jokes, even while undergoing these gruesome ordeals. A few, not so able to endure, had orderlies holding them down, or sitting on the limbs which were being amputated, while their screams gave encouragement to the waiting queues.

CHAPTER VII · 1816-56

SMALL WARS. INDIA. S. AFRICA.
CANADIAN MILITIA. THE CRIMEA

Waterloo was the end of over twenty years of war, and naturally there were great rejoicings at home, and Wellington and his army received due appreciation. As most of the available honours had already been conferred on the Duke, he was granted £200,000 to buy the estate of Stratfieldsaye. The battle honour 'Waterloo' was authorized within five weeks. The first medal for all ranks was struck, and those who had taken part were to be described officially as 'Waterloo' men (in the Army List 'W' was placed against the names of officers). All ranks were given two years extra seniority to count towards pay, and Ensigns of the Guards were given double rank as Lieutenants. (Lieutenants in the Guards had had the double rank of Captain since 1691. This system was abolished in 1871.) There was prize-money too, and, as an instance, the 92nd received a share of about £5,000. But, in those days, public gratitude did not go so far as to provide for the blind, armless, and crippled. Regimental and private subscribers did what they could, but the penniless old soldier (and his counterfeit), with wooden leg or other incapacity resulting from one of many campaigns, was a shamefully familiar sight, right up to the twentieth century.

The Corsican menace was removed to St. Helena, where escape was unlikely, and peace set in, though with many problems and much poverty and unrest as a legacy from the long years of war. (Napoleon had such a hold on the imagination of the French that even now private 'wars' are liable to break out if one discusses him!) As usual, one of the first 'remedies' to be applied was the 'cutting', so far as decently possible, of the Services. Regimental establishments were severely cut down and all the ancillary services, e.g. the Waggon Train, practically ceased to exist. Training was limited and there was extreme parsimony even regarding ammunition for teaching men to shoot. But somehow the Army had to keep up its reputation, which went back as far as Marlborough's time, for always being able to produce the deadliest musket-fire in the world.

Another problem was that, though the wars with France were

now ended for good, the Empire had increased considerably and so needed more garrisons. Acquisitions during the Napoleonic Wars were—Malta, the Cape Colony, British Guiana, Mauritius, Ceylon, several West Indian islands, and new provinces of India. Australia, first used in 1788 as a place of banishment for convicts, was now becoming an important colony and needed a few troops. Canada and the Cape needed garrisons. Then there was the occupation of France, until 1818, for which Britain contributed 30,000 troops.

The GREYS, 4/ROYAL SCOTS, 42nd, 79th, and 92nd took part in the occupation of Paris, until about the end of 1815, and the 91st was in France until 1818. In Belgium, after Waterloo, the inhabitants had been extremely kind to the wounded, and the Highlanders specially had become very popular with them. But it could only be expected that there would be some coldness in the attitude of the Parisians, towards the victorious enemy. However, our troops seem to have been the only ones who paid for everything they took, which caused surprise, but must have made a good impression, and British soldiers have a way of soon making friends wherever they are stationed. There were a few rude caricatures of 'the garb of old Gaul', a lot of amusing haggling over purchases, by equally astute buyers and sellers, who could neither understand a word the other said and drunkenness was not bad, in spite of the cheapness of 'vin ordinaire'. Otherwise it was a period of 'spit and polish', reviews by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia; and the usual drill and training, which seemed like rather irritating child's play, to men who had just put everything to the test in battle.

Paris must have looked very odd in those days with troops from nearly all the armies of Europe strolling about the streets, all vieing with one another in the smartness of their uniforms. There were strange characters among them too, and it was reported that one of the minor eccentricities of the Russians consisted of drinking the oil out of the street lamps.

The homeward route for the Scottish regiments was via Calais and Dover and thence by march-route to Scotland, and all the way there was a great welcome home. English villages they passed through turned out to see them, and rang the church bells, and there was generous hospitality at every halting place. When they got to Scotland they were fêted for days and a man had to have a very strong will to keep sober.

There was now a short spell in the old regimental homes, like Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen and Inverness, and leave, in which to return to the glens and villages, after what seemed like a lifetime away in foreign countries, and walk on the heather once more as an independent man and, incidentally, as an object of more than ordinary interest to the lasses.

In April 1816 the medals for the Waterloo campaign arrived—a novelty, as never before had there been any but regimental medals, except for high-ranking officers, who had gold Peninsula medals. They were also issued to 'next of kin' of those who had not survived to receive them. Men who had been through tough campaigns in many parts of the world, but were not at Waterloo, felt a little offended that they got nothing, as their medal, the 'General Service 1793–1814', did not materialize until 1848, by which time a man of twenty serving in 1793 would have been seventy-five. (The second earliest medal, according to its dates, was the India Medal, 1799–1826.)

During the years between the French Revolution (1793) and Waterloo, many changes had occurred in the Army, and a great deal of its present organization is traceable to that period. Modernization in the field, before and during the war, has already been touched on—the formation of regiments of light dragoons and light infantry, the ROYAL ENGINEERS (a corps of staff officers, distinct from the ROYAL SAPPERS & MINERS), 1787, the ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY, 1793, then the rifle regiments, and the WAGGON-TRAIN, which in combination with the Commissariat Department, later developed into the R.A.S.C. The MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, in spite of some attempts at reorganization, remained the blackest spot, though some of the regimental doctors did admirable work.

As regards officers, the Staff College and the Royal Military College were founded in 1799, and among other reforms organized by the Duke of York, who was Commander-in-Chief for some years, were the establishment of the Adjutant-General's and Military Secretary's departments. He also tried to abolish the inefficient and invidious system of purchasing commissions which, however, was not accomplished until about 1870.

The Duke of York had in mind a system, similar to that introduced by Cardwell in 1881. His idea was to have a hundred infantry regiments, each with two battalions, one of which would be on home service, while the other was overseas, and the Militia were to become the 3rd and 4th battalions of each regiment.

Coming down to regimental level, there were also many changes. First, about 1793, the building of barracks began. Up to then, apart from periods when they were in camp, the men were always billeted—mostly in the local 'pubs', which did not help as regards discipline, or the prevention of drunkenness. Sergeants' messes and regimental canteens (in which quantities of foul liquor were sold at outrageous profit) date from this period, and in 1809 Lieut.-Colonel Cameron of the 92nd made the men's breakfast a parade which was to be visited by an officer. This meal was at 8.30 a.m., and dinner

at 2 p.m. (In those days no meal was supplied after this.) In May 1809, as a deterrent to drunkenness, which had got pretty bad, he ordered four parades a day, instead of two! Those were the days of 'three-bottle men', when over-eating and over-drinking were considered quite normal among civilians, and it was only in the Services that a serious view was taken.

The ROYAL SCOTS were the first unit to start a regimental school—an innovation which soon spread throughout the Army, and which nowadays manages to raise the standard of some of the illiterates who have already been 'educated' at public expense. At that time most of the Highlanders were bilingual. On parade English was spoken, but at other times Gaelic came more naturally—without the schools, this happy state might have continued.

The Army was not over-religious at this period and chaplains were rare. The 93rd at The Cape (1806–14) were an exception, as they appointed their own 'elders', and the whole regiment subscribed to pay the stipend of a Minster, to hold regular services. In the ROYAL SCOTS the Adjutant used to draw an allowance for acting as chaplain, but the opinion of many was that his outlook was too mundane for such an office.

There were other innovations as regards ranks, and 'tradesmen'. In the cavalry, saddlers, armourers and armourer-sergeants were added to the establishment about 1800, and each regiment had its veterinary surgeon from 1796. Nevertheless the loss in horses on active service continued to be terrible. Obviously those wounded in battle, many of which might have recovered with treatment, could only be shot, as they could not move with the regiment, and there was nowhere to leave them.

In the infantry the rank of Colour-Sergeant was introduced in 1813. It was Wellington's idea to encourage the better types of N.C.O.'s by giving them a chance of higher promotion. Encouragements for privates were purely a matter of regimental concern, until 1837, when good conduct badges and pay were authorized. At the same time flogging ceased to be the normal punishment for crimes of minor importance, and was relegated into a sinister background, to emerge only on really serious occasions.

There were no great wars, after 1815, for nearly forty years, and apart from unpleasant duties connected with 'riots and civil commotions', which became less frequent with the formation of a proper police force, in 1829, home service settled down to a peaceful routine. But the position regarding overseas service was rather as it is now, and few regiments stayed long at home.

During the century there was much to be done in consolidating the Empire, and this involved numerous expeditions—most of them small, but some on a considerable scale. India was the scene of

scores of campaigns, but as Scottish regiments were only concerned in some of them, a good many can be omitted. One of these was the Nepal war, 1814–16, mentioned only because it was a Scot, Major-General David Ochterlony (for some reason known among Indians as Lony Ochter) who dealt successfully with the GURKHAS, and because these excellent little soldiers later became so friendly with some of the Highland regiments. (The most recent link with Scotland has been the visit of their pipe band to the Edinburgh Festival and in 1953 also, they and the GORDONS were working together against the Communists in Malaya.)

In 1817 the 2nd ROYAL SCOTS were involved in another of these small wars, against the PINDAREES—swarms of bandits who gave much trouble in Central India, and were harboured by the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, and the Peishwah of Poonah.

The battalion was split up and sent with two considerable forces of Sepoys—part under Doveton (a familiar name in the Indian Army), and the flank companies under Hislop, and each won a battle honour—'Nagpore' (cobra town) and 'Maheidpore'. At Nagpore, to which they made forced marches, to relieve a small British force which had been attacked there, the Rajah thought he would do something clever. He agreed to surrender, handed over one battery, and then tried an ambush. But Doveton knew his man, and was ready, so the immediate result was the capture, by his troops, of 75 guns and 40 elephants. But the place then had to be beseiged and it took eight days to make the Rajah thoroughly understand the object of their visit.

The flank companies had a similar experience when, after a fight for MAHEIDPORE, they went to take over the fortress of TALNERE, by agreement. After a few shots had been fired at them, they were received by the kiladar (fort commander) who led them through gates in four successive walls, but at the fifth he vanished and the gate was shut in their faces. They tried a small wicket gate, and Major Gordon and three men were shot dead, but Private Sweeny (they still had Irishmen) forced his musket in, to prevent it being shut, and they got through with the further loss of Captain M'Gregor. By this time they were in no mood for arguments, and the treacherous garrison had an extremely poor time, and the kiladar finished up dangling at the end of a rope. Lieut.-Colonel Fraser, commanding, was killed shortly afterwards at Assirghur.

They had some experience of cholera in this campaign, but when they served with Sir Archibald Campbell's force in BURMAH, in 1825, they lost over four hundred—nearly all from disease, and mostly from cholera. They got the battle honour 'AVA' for this campaign, but they did not bring back Kipling's romantic memories of 'the old Moulmein pagoda, looking lazy in the sun', and when they

came home to Edinburgh in 1832, there was only one man who had sailed to India with them.

The 2nd/42nd had a similar experiemce in CEYLON in 1818, when their chief enemy was disease and nearly the whole battalion was incapacitated. The Medical Department either did not worry about these small campaigns, or their ignorance about tropical hygiene and diseases must have been pretty complete, and there seems no doubt that many thousands of men died, who would not even have been seriously ill under modern conditions. (In 1837 some attention was given to the improvement of barracks in tropical stations.)

From 1835 South Africa figured rather prominently in the records of small campaigns—and the 72nd (1/SEAFORTH) and 75th (1/GORDONS) were involved in one of the numerous KAFFIR WARS in that year.

The difficulty in the Cape was that ever since Van Riebeeck became the Governor, in 1651, no really satisfactory method of living with the natives had been evolved. The British occupied the Cape during the Napoleonic Wars because they needed a halfway depot for shipping, on the way to India, and because the Dutch in Holland were at that time co-operating with Napoleon and there was no knowing whether the Cape Dutch would follow their example, and provide a lair for French raiders. Then, having bought the whole colony in 1814, we naturally became concerned with its settlement and the maintenance of order. The KAFFIRS were then a savage and warlike race and, like the Indians in Canada, feared and resented intrusion on their preserves. The British treated them with more consideration than did the Dutch, and they, being used to the sjambok and the bullet, took the British leniency for timidity, and became more nad more bumptious and aggressive.

Actually this was the sixth time (1835) that operations against them had reached a sufficient scale to be recorded as a war, and British troops had been concerned in three previous ones—1799, (in which the 98th, later 91st (1/A & SH,) took part, 1811, and 1818. On this occasion a chief named Macomo who had been allowed to live in British territory, was deprived of his land for serious misbehaviour, which probably meant cattle-stealing, combined with murder and arson, and in revenge raised a rebellion. Thousands of Kaffirs invaded the colony and robbed and killed British and Dutch settlers in outlying districts.

British troops and Dutch commandos formed a force of about 3,000 under the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had a difficult task to perform. A native's cattle were his capital and mainstay so, as in the 'Mau Mau' troubles in the 1950's, one method of bringing them to heel was to collect and impound these scraggy

animals. But as many of the Kaffirs had come from far away, leaving their cattle at home, this method was not satisfactory, and a large rounding-up movement had to be carried out to enclose the Kaffirs themselves.

With the help of the CAPE MOUNTED RIFLES (formed by John Graham of the 93rd in 1806) the mounted Boers (farmers), and a mounted infantry company, composed of 50 men of the 75th (not then a kilted regiment), 7,000 Kaffirs were shepherded into a place called KEISKAMA HOEK, where they were surrounded by the whole force. Many were killed, and the remainder vanished in the bush like rabbits going to ground, leaving a large number of cattle, which was as much a sign of defeat as if European troops had left their guns. On the British side, one man was killed and four wounded and, apart from a little clearing up, the campaign was finished.

The 72nd and 75th did a lot of marching and scrambling about in mountainous and thorn-bush country, and their uniforms were so worn to rags that they had to be replaced by rough farming clothes, which, however, were far more suitable for the work. Afterwards about a hundred men of the 75th obtained their discharge in order to settle in South Africa, and some were transferred to the CAPE MOUNTED RIFLES.

In the year of Queen Victoria's accession, 1837, and in 1838, there were *political disturbances in Canada* and armed mobs were raised by Louis Papineau, Mackenzie, and others. There was some fighting in which the ROYAL SCOTS and the 93rd (2/A & SH) were concerned but Sir John Colborne (of Peninsula and Waterloo renown) who was C.-in-C., Canada, quickly dealt with the trouble, and some good came of it, as it put new life into the CANADIAN MILITIA. Four regiments of GLENGARRY MILITIA were mobilized in 1837, but were not required. The second time, in 1838, the services of two of these battalions were accepted and they were quartered in Quebec Province. Captain Burgoyne of the 93rd described them as keen and of fine physique, but ignorant of military matters. Most of them only understood Gaelic, and as he could speak to them, he helped by giving them some instruction. At this time nearly all the men of the 93rd spoke Gaelic, which was remarkable as Highland recruits were so scarce that the other regiments had to accept men of various nationalities.

At that time the only duty imposed on the SEDENTARY MILITIA OF CANADA was an annual muster. In some districts this was rather an informal affair, and consisted mainly of lounging on to the village green, or other meeting place, dressed in shirtsleeves, or anything else which appealed to each individual, and carrying some kind of weapon. This might be an ancient musket or sporting gun, or a rusty sword, which probably would not come out of its scabbard.

There might be one or two officers in ill-assembled uniforms, looking rather self-conscious, but providing the only clue that there was any connection with the army. A roll-call would be taken, but no training was attempted and, after a spell of inactivity, the 'parade' was dismissed, to carry out an alcoholic exercise. To quote an instance described in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), 'The parade day ended in a drunken bout and a riot—in which the colonel had been knocked down, and one or two serious and even fatal accidents had occurred; but it was all taken so very lightly, so very much as a thing of course.' But the rebellions, small as they were, had the result of making many Canadians take the Militia seriously, and they put in a lot of work and produced some efficient battalions. In the MONTREAL LIGHT INFANTRY a Highland Company was formed, from which the BLACK WATCH (ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT) OF CANADA traces its descent.

In 1838 Australia was relieved of the periodical influxes of those gentry from the underworld, who had been unloaded there from time to time, and became a respectable colony. The following year a company was formed for the settlement of New Zealand, and that country began to shape its future.

The 73rd (2/BW) and 91st (1/A & SH) took part in the seventh KAFFIR WAR, in 1846–7, and again in the eighth Kaffir War, 1851–3, and this time the 74th (2/HLI) was also present. There was no help from the Boers on these occasions, as in 1837, a large body of them, exasperated by the British governments' methods of abolishing slavery and its over-tolerant treatment of the natives, had trekked in their ox-waggons far to the North. Their leader, Piet Retief, and about sixty of his men were treacherously murdered by Dingaan, King of the Zulus, but the remainder settled in what is now the Orange River Colony, and Natal. (The 25th (KOSB) were involved in crushing a rebellion in 1842, which resulted in the British annexation of Natal.) Those Boers who remained in the Cape were too disgruntled to take part in this operation even for the protection of their own homes. As on previous occasions, there was more tough work and hardships than fighting, and the Kaffirs had to be pursued for long distances through mountain and bush country, which meant some very exhausting marches, sometimes on short rations. There was heat, cold and mud to contend with and, as before, uniforms and boots were completely destroyed by the thorn bushes and the rocks. The end of the smooth-bore musket was approaching, and the Minié rifle was on trial—six to each Company, issued to the best shots. This had reasonable accuracy up to 300 or 400 yards, whereas the percussion musket, which had replaced the old 'Brown Bess' about 1840, was of little use for individual fire beyond 80 or 100 yards.

The GRAHAMSTOWN VOLUNTEERS, predecessors of the FIRST CITY, took part in the eighth Kaffir War and lost their C.O., a sergeant and seven men at BUFFALO KLOOF, where 80 Kaffirs were killed. The barbarity of these natives and their belief in 'witch-doctor' superstitions is shown by the fact that they used to remove the testicles of the dead Europeans, dry them, grind them into powder, and issue small doses to their men to make them as brave as those they had killed.

There is a link between the FIRST CITY and the 93rd, as Grahamstown was named after Colonel John Graham of the 93rd, and this regiment wears the tartan of Graham of Montrose.

Some of the reinforcements for the 73rd, 74th, 91st, and seven other regiments under Lieut.-Colonel Seton of the 74th, were involved in the wreck of the troopship 'BIRKENHEAD', near Simonstown in February 1852—a well-known story which has often been quoted as one of the finest examples of discipline. During the night the ship ran on to a rock and began to sink and, as often happened in those days, the number of boats carried was quite inadequate. All the troops not engaged in helping the families to embark were paraded on deck, and when this work was finished, officers explained to their drafts that all boats were fully loaded and if men attempted to board them they would capsize. Not a man moved from the ranks until the ship actually sank, and 438 were drowned, but all the women and children were saved. One of the survivors—Captain Wright of the 91st—said; '. . . orders were carried out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom. There was only this difference, that I never saw an embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion.' The Queen had a monument erected to their memory at Chelsea Hospital.

Until about a hundred years ago, shipwreck, in peacetime, was quite a normal hazard of soldiering and, as other instances about this time, the HQ Wing of 2/RS was wrecked on the way to the West Indies about 1840, and the reserve battalion of the 91st (A & SH) was wrecked in Table Bay in 1842, at the end of their voyage to South Africa.

In 1854 most of the regular troops in Canada were withdrawn, as serious trouble was brewing in Europe, and in 1855 a MILITIA ACT was passed, which was the beginning of the present organization of the Canadian Army.

The outbreak of a European war, in 1854, found the country even more than usually unprepared, and the Navy and Army 'cut to the bone'. Supply services were non-existent, about four out of five infantry battalions were in overseas garrisons, and all had been deliberately kept under strength by the political economists. Russia, in spite of having an enormous amount of territory, was never satis-

fied, and had long had designs on Stamboul and the Dardanelles, with free access to the Mediterranean. The alleged illtreatment of Christians in the Ottoman Empire provided a plausible excuse for one of her periodical attacks on Turkey. India was already menaced by Russian advances towards Afghanistan, and if Russia got into the Mediterranean the whole of the Middle East would be threatened. Apart from there being no Suez Canal at that time, Turkey's position as a 'buffer state' was much as it is to-day, and for this and other reasons, Britain decided to support her. Then France, with another Napoleon on the throne (since 1851), and with memories of Moscow 1812, came in as well. It was certainly a novelty to have our ancient and habitual enemy as an ally, and it was hardly to be expected that co-operation would be perfect. For one thing the British C.-in-C., Lord Raglan, who was a Peninsula veteran, could not rid himself of the habit of referring to the enemy as 'the French!'

The whole campaign was a classic example of how things should not be done. The troops were excellent, but had to endure chaotic mishandling of almost every administrative and tactical problem, by a staff whose main qualifications seem to have consisted of senility, incompetence, and lack of war experience, made worse by personal jealousies and underhand favouritism. The Allied troops first landed in Bulgaria, then a province of Turkey, to prevent a Russian advance on Stamboul. They did not stay long as the Turks, with the help of British officers from the Indian Army and of anti-Russian threats by Austria, had already settled that point, and it was decided to attack the Russian naval base at Sebastapol. The short spell near Varna, however, did them no good. The climate, in summer, was hot and wet, and there was forest and rank vegetation. After a couple of days of rain the sun would come out and the temperature rose to well over 100 deg., producing dense clouds of steam and, just as during the occupation of the Batum-Baku line in 1919, malaria was rampant. In this case they suffered from cholera and dysentery as well, and the troops got into such a low state that even the 1st SCOTS FUSILIER GUARDS were unable to march more than about six miles in a day, and could not carry their packs that distance.

In this state they embarked for the Crimea in an odd assortment of ships, some conforming to ancient tradition, and some modern ones with long black funnels belching smoke and sparks among the sails and threatening to set fire to them at any moment. Embarkation was little hindered by the loading of transport, stores and medical supplied, as there were practically none.

Ships of the Navy were in attendance throughout the campaign, used their guns when possible, and sent landing parties and Marines ashore, to construct and man permanent batteries during the static warfare which developed. Their presence was vitally essential, as

the whole campaign depended on their bringing every kind of store, and reinforcements, right to the base.

The British force consisted of 4 infantry divisions, 1,000 cavalry, and 60 guns, and the Scottish regiments which took part in the campaign were: the GREYS, SCOTS FUSILIER GUARDS (SG), 1st and 2nd Battalions ROYAL REGIMENT (RS), R.N.B. FUSILIERS, CAMERONIANS, HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY and 72nd (SEAFORTH), (some of these arrived later on). Sir Colin Campbell's Highland Brigade, as originally constituted, consisted of the 42nd (BW), 79th (CAMERONS) and 93rd (2/A & SH).

The 92nd (GORDONS), at Gibraltar, were greatly disappointed that they were only allowed to send volunteers to the other Highland regiments. Eventually they did get to the Crimea, but only a few days before the end of the war. The 25th (KOSB) returned home from India in 1854 and was the only Scottish regiment which did not send a battalion to Russia.

The British and French forces landed with no opposition some miles north of Sebastopol. The night was wet and the tents did not arrive, and by the morning there were many fresh cases of cholera. Next day they marched towards Sebastopol and, apart from scores of men falling out sick, and some cavalry patrol encounters, nothing happened.

On the third day, as expected, they came up against a large Russian force in position astride the Sebastopol road. The enemy had the advantage of occupying a ridge and some precipitous heights and had constructed two redoubts and posted guns in them. The ALMA RIVER crossed their front and ran through vineyards and fields of mealies five or six feet high, which concealed numerous riflemen. During the battle the Russians tried to complicate the existing obstacles by setting fire to one of their own villages. The army had changed little since Waterloo, and light cavalry and infantry led, in extended order, followed by front-line divisions in quarter-column, then support divisions, and finally the reserve division, with the remaining cavalry. The British were on the left, the Turks in the centre and the French with their right on the seashore. All were in full dress, with bands and pipes playing and Colours flying, and the General and his staff rode in the centre. Eventually regiments deployed into line and, as a few long-range cannon balls came bounding along, men 'made way' and let them pass through.

Trouble began in crossing the Alma which was a fast-flowing and treacherous stream with steep banks. Formation was inevitably lost, and one or two men were drowned, and on scaling the bank on the enemy's side the troops came under fire. The Light Division having cleared out the Russian skirmishers, went ahead to storm the main redoubt, and encountered enormous numbers of Russians,

and a shattering volume of fire from artillery and infantry. But as they approached the redoubt, the Russian gunners panicked and limbered up twelve guns and removed them, two others being captured with the redoubt. The enemy then made massive counter-attacks, with infantry, and the Light Division found themselves in a difficult position. The 2nd Division was also involved, troops were still crossing the river, and owing to the heavy fire as they came up over the bank, they were having to rush forward without reforming. Then, owing to an advancing Russian column being mistaken for French, a bugler sounded 'Cease Fire', and then 'Retire', and the call was taken up by buglers all along the line. After it had been repeated, many regiments began to obey the order, and some battered and rather disorganized units began to move back. (Probably this was the reason why, in later years, these calls were not allowed to be sounded on active service.)

This was the position when the 1st Division, Guards and Highlanders, went into action. Both brigades had just waded across the river and were preparing to advance. But there was no Wellington controlling this battle, and orders to advance and orders to retire, some troops moving back and then, as they felt this must be wrong, halting, others moving forward; while Russian masses came up to attack, and a storm of case-shot from their guns caused a short but highly dangerous spell of confusion. In this manner several companies of the SCOTS FUSILIER GUARDS, who had been ordered by their Brigadier to advance from the river, before they had properly regained their formation, were thrown into some disorder.

This was the well-known occasion when the Colour party, under Lieutenant R. J. Lindsay (later Lord Wantage), did such invaluable work, by standing fast, in their advanced and isolated position, where besides being a conspicuous target for guns and muskets, they were involved in hand-to-hand fighting. The party consisted of Lieutenant Thistlethwayte, Sergeants J. McKechnie (wounded), W. Lane (killed), W. Bryce, and A. McLeod (killed), and a few others.[1] The Queen's Colour had twenty-four bullets through it, and its pike was shot in half, but neither of the officers was touched. Fortunately the Russian muskets were bad and their inexperienced troops fired mostly too high, otherwise it is unlikely that any of this party would have survived.

The Colours being the natural rallying point, this determined and self-sacrificing action enabled the companies to sort themselves out quickly and the advance continued, Guards on the right, Highlanders on the left. About 9,000 Russian infantry (who fought in massed columns, like the French did in the Peninsular War), were

[1] When the V.C. was instituted, in 1856, crosses were awarded, for gallantry in this action, to Lt. Lindsay, Sgts. McKechnie and Knox, and Pte. Reynolds.

driven back, their cavalry failed to intervene, as they should have, and the large redoubt was taken again.

Sir Colin Campbell's horse was killed while he was leading the Highland Brigade, and, according to some, the strange dress of the Highlanders had a good moral effect on the Russians. The 'iron curtain' existed in those days, to the extent that the Russian peasants, almost totally illiterate, knew nothing of the outside world and were very subject to superstition. Seen through the fog of battle, the waving 'foxtails', above fierce bearded faces, and the bare knees, seemed to them grotesque and horrifying, and the sporrans looked like the heads of unnatural little horses, the whole ensemble indubitably indicating some unknown type of devil. However that may have been, the Highlanders advancing in échelon of battalions —a formation accidently acquired, but as it happened, most opportune, appeared in succession over a ridge, to the surprise and consternation of the counter-attacking Russians, who at first thought they had only to deal with one battalion—the 42nd. Their massive columns were blasted by unexpected volleys from the 93rd, then from the 79th, and were charged with the bayonet and hurled back in a confused rabble. In a very short time the Highlanders and the Guards re-formed on the crest of the enemy position, with a panoramic view of a Russian army in hasty retreat. Owing to the speed of the action, the casualties of the six battalions totalled under 500, the 93rd, for instance, losing 8 killed and 44 wounded.

With the enemy in this state, a swift advance might have got the Allies into Sebastopol, but no, it had to be done the hard way. It had been found, after the battle began, that the Russians had nearly all their troops in front of the British, and that the French were almost unopposed. So, as the British had borne the brunt, Marshal St. Arnaud was asked to take up the pursuit, but this proved to be inconvenient, as his infantry had left their packs at the bottom of a steep hill which they had climbed! (In fairness it must be added that St. Arnaud was a very sick man and died soon afterwards.) But Lord Raglan did not attempt to use his cavalry, and still had two divisions which had not come into action. The British infantry had put up a wonderful show, in spite of the facts that nearly every man was weak from dysentery, that many were dying from cholera during the battle, and that, owing to bad staff-work, a large proportion of them had to march and fight in hot, dusty weather with empty water-bottles. Otherwise there was nothing very creditable on either side at the Alma.

The Russian force, under Menschikov, retired towards SEBASTOPOL, left some reinforcements for the garrison, and then moved out into the country, where it remained at liberty throughout the war and caused serious trouble for the Allies—another proof of their

unorthodox methods. But Lord Raglan could not very well have undertaken mobile operations without transport.

The Allies then marched southwards, passing Sebastopol on their right flank. They caught up with the Russian rear-guard and the GREYS had a skirmish with them in the woods. Finally they reached the south coast at BALACLAVA, a village with a small harbour, which was taken with little resistance. There a base was formed and placed under the command of Colin Campbell, now a Major-General, for the landing of stores and siege guns. The French moved on and formed their base at Kamiesh Bay, and the bulk of the armies proceeded to entrench and construct batteries round Sebastopol.

A few days later (25th October 1854) Menschikov sent out 25,000 infantry, 34 squadrons of cavalry, and 78 guns from his field force, with the object of destroying the Balaclava base. Campbell's troops consisted of the Heavy and Light Cavalry Brigades about 1,600 strong, the 93rd HIGHLANDERS, and 3 battalions of Turks, one of which occupied half a dozen hastily-constructed redoubts on a ridge known as the Causeway Heights, which stood at the head of the Balaclava valley and along which the main road to Sebastopol ran. In the base itself were some Marines, 200 convalescents, and the usual 'odds and sods'.

The Turks on one hill received a terrible pounding, which killed 170 out of 500, and then withdrew, covered by a squadron of the GREYS. Then the others seeing this, and being also threatened with extinction, decided to clear out. One Highlander's wife did her best to send them back, by beating as many as possible over the head, with a broomstick, but they did not care, and ran on in search of a ship. Captain Tatham, R.N., managed to reorganize some of them, who were sent to reinforce the 93rd.

The 3,000 Russian cavalry were by then on the Causeway Heights and 9 squadrons, detached from the main body, moved into the valley. There they had a clear run over grassy downland, to Balaclava, except for one thing—the 93rd (2/A & SH), about 500 Highlanders—standing in two ranks across their route. Sir Colin was there and evidently thought the position was dead serious, as he told the Highlanders there could be no retreat and he expected them to die where they stood. There was an excellent understanding between this veteran Scot and his troops, especially his own countrymen, and the Highlanders in the ranks responded by assuring him that they would do just what he ordered.

Few people in the Army to-day have seen a body of 800 cavalry, and it looked a great deal more than the same number of infantry. Coming forward at a gallop, with swords and lances ready, and giving tongue with barbarous yells, it was to say the least, a formidable sight. The Highlanders stood motionless, awaiting the order. It

came rather too soon, and they fired a volley at a range which was too great to cause the destruction it would have at, say, forty yards. However, it was enough, and the Russians wheeled about. They made one more effort to charge in from the right flank, but Captain Ross, seeing this coming, formed his Grenadier company to face them, and gave them an effective volley, which sent them off at full gallop in the reverse direction. That is the story of 'the thin red line'—not so much a story of fierce fighting, as of a critical, as well as dramatic, situation, and of the full intention to die where they stood, if need be. Presumably they did not form a square, because the cavalry might have by-passed it, and being spread out in a thin line added much to the tenseness of the situation. The 93rd is the only infantry regiment with the battle honour 'BALACLAVA'.

While this was going on, the main body of the Russian cavalry moved along the Causeway Heights, and General Scarlett with the Heavy Brigade—ROYALS, GREYS, INNISKILLINGS, 4th and 5th DRAGOON GUARDS, caught sight of their heads just showing over the skyline and could see they had halted. There were well over 2,000 of them, against his 800, but he made up his mind quickly. The trumpets sounded and, as the brigade formed into two lines, the Russian mass began moving down a slope towards them. They were only separated by a few hundred yards, but with complete nonchalance the movement was carried out in a leisurely manner and each Troop Commander dressed his ranks with parade ground procedure, before taking up his correct position and facing to his front. Meanwhile Scarlett sat waiting and apparently quite unconcerned.

Then the Russians halted and began changing their formation, so that their wings would envelop the insignificant number of British and allow none to escape. At this heaven-sent moment, Scarlett ordered his trumpeter to sound the 'Charge', but three times he had to sound before the squadrons were ready to move. (Some of the Russians said later that this display of coolness and deliberation had definitely affected their morale.)

The first line consisted of 2 squadrons of the GREYS and a squadron of their old comrades the INNISKILLINGS. The General rode in front with his A.D.C., his trumpeter and an orderly and, as they crashed into the inert mass, he received five wounds and his A.D.C. fourteen. The impact of the whole line—about 300 men, was terrific and the red coats disappeared into the middle of the huge body of enemy, but the Russians, piling up against one another, had no room to make proper use of their lances and swords, and were hacked down in scores. The hideous sights and sounds of such an affray have to be left to the imagination. Such things can only be done in the heat of battle.

Soon the second line smashed into the melèe, and two reserve

squadrons charged in on the left, all cleaving their way through the crowd of men and horses. The finishing touch was given by three British guns, which put some shots into the rear squadrons and then the whole mass disintegrated and fled, while, only 500 yards away, Lord Cardigan, acting on his own interpretation of Lord Lucan's orders, kept the Light Brigade sitting still as spectators, officers and men almost exploding with frustration.

It was one of those rare high spots in the lives of heavy cavalry regiments when they were able to fulfil the purpose of their existence, and for the GREYS it was the first of such occasions since Waterloo, and it was also nearly the last as horsed cavalry.

After this came the series of blunders which caused the memorable and tragic charge of the Light Brigade. That, however, does not come into this story, except for the fact that the Heavy Brigade were sent up to cover the retreat of the survivors, and the GREYS lost some men from rifle and cannon fire. Their total loss on that day was much less than might have been expected—2 killed and 54 wounded. With the appearance of two British divisions from the lines near Sebastopol (which included the 42nd and 79th Highlanders) the whole Russian force drew back—about 35,000 having been defeated by slightly over 2,000 British. But they remained in possession of the main road to Sebastopol, which greatly increased our transport difficulties when the bad weather came.

Sir Colin Campbell had a way of doing the right thing at the right moment and immediately after the charge he rode across to congratulate the Heavy Brigade. He took off his hat while he spoke, and to the GREYS he said: 'Greys, gallant Greys, I am sixty-one years of age, but if I were young again, I should be proud to serve in your ranks.' After the Alma, as a mark of honour to the Highlanders for their conduct in that battle, he had asked, and got permission, to wear a Highland feather bonnet—perhaps a precedent for some of those Scottish Brigadiers in Canada, who have lately been having difficulty about wearing tartan trousers.

The battle of the Alma was in September, Balaclava in October, then as winter set in, Menschikov made a dangerous effort, on Guy Fawkes' day, to surround and destroy some of the British divisions in their camps. This became known as the battle of INKERMAN.

The Allies' system was that each Division was encamped in tents at some distance from the siege lines, and had always a quota of men in the trenches.

So the camps contained only those who were resting or *en route* to or from the trenches and, owing to the shortage of men produced by so much sickness, no defences worth anything had yet been constructed in these areas. The Russians attempted a surprise by two large columns, in an early-morning fog, and came near success.

But the attack was met by the resourcefulness of regimental officers, who hastily formed units from everyone in the vicinity, including grooms, bandsmen, officers' servants, and any sick who could walk; and close and confused fighting, in which among many others the SCOTS FUSILIER GUARDS and the R.N.B. FUSILIERS were heavily engaged, went on for several hours. The French came into it too, but the British had the brunt, and in the end the Russians were beaten off with a loss of about 12,000 casualties. It was noticed in this battle that some of the enemy signified their willingness to surrender by prostrating themselves—face to earth and rump elevated, and asking for mercy in the name of Christos—not Allah.

Their own idea of mercy, in the other direction, was to bayonet the wounded, or bash in their skulls with their rifle-butts. They also had a trick of shamming dead, then shooting people in the back.

After Inkerman the really bad period began.

A twelve-hour hurricane, on the 14th November, sank sixteen ships in the harbour, destroying all the winter clothing and great quantities of rations and ammunition, and tore away the tents which were the only shelter the troops had. Wounded, in hospital marquees, were left lying in the open in storms of snow and sleet and everyone's kit was scattered and sodden. The track from Balaclava became a series of bogs and slippery mud slopes, and it was next to impossible to bring up the essential daily supplies. Conditions in the trenches were much as they were in France in 1915, when it sometimes took an hour to move a hundred yards through the mud. Variety was provided when the trenches became filled by snowdrifts, and the human and other pack animals, toiling up from Balaclava, slid on ice instead of mud. Some idea of their appearance was given by Captain Creagh of the ROYAL REGIMENT (RS), who, when he first landed at Balaclava, thought there must have been a competition in progress, to select the dirtiest and most emaciated men and animals in the world. Rations were constantly short, clothing was irreplaceable, and men soon had nothing but one filthy suit of lousy rags, and could not even wash their bodies much. In some camps the only water supply was a mile away and the only receptacles in which to carry it were the men's water-bottles and mess-tins. Most of this hardship was due to the peace-time parsimony which had abolished the supply and transport services, and the French, who were properly provided, did not suffer anything like the privations of the British. Sickness, naturally, did not decrease under these conditions and at one period there were sixty deaths a day from Cholera, and with the winter, frost-bite was added to the list of menaces. Sometimes total sickness casualties were as much as a thousand in one day—and men did not go sick as long as they could drag themselves about.

All this time the usual siege procedure went on—sapping nearer to the enemy, constructing new batteries, raids, bombardments, sniping, and sorties by the Russians who, incidentally, were more numerous than the besiegers, and had a route open for reinforcements to join them at any time. All the Scottish infantry regiments, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, went through this dogged and uninspiring routine and it is hardly possible to distinguish their separate experiences without going into an enormous amount of detail.

When Spring came conditions improved, supplies were better too, and huts were replacing the ragged tents. Health was better and the men looked totally different from the pale-faced scarecrows of a month or two earlier.

The first ASSAULT ON SEBASTOPOL was made on Waterloo day, 1855, but it was not a success, and was repeated on 8th September. Even then the British were driven back and lost heavily, but the French got into the Malakov redoubt, and the Russians then sank all their ships, blew up or burnt everything they could, and pulled out. In the early morning of the 9th an officer of the 93rd discovered that the Redan (the great redoubt where the British attack had been repulsed) appeared to be unoccupied, and a party of volunteers from the 93rd and 72nd were preparing to enter and investigate when, with a terrific roar, the whole thing became airborne in small pieces.

Menschikovs' army did not come onto the scene any more, and the evacuation of Sebastopol ended the fighting. But the troops remained in their camps for some time, while peace negotiations were proceeding.

As the Russians had already given up their attack on Turkey before the arrival of the British and French at Varna, 'What good came of it I cannot tell'—except that it did smarten up the War Office.

CHAPTER VIII · 1857-81

INDIAN MUTINY. AFGHANISTAN
FIRST BOER WAR. THE VOLUNTEERS. CANADIAN AND
S. AFRICAN SCOTTISH REGIMENTS

The Army had gone into the Crimea suffering from shortage of nearly all the needs of men on active service, and the troops had got over the deficiencies simply by enduring conditions which would have been considered barbarous in the Stone Age. But, with the arrival of people so undesirable to the perpetrators of neglect as *The Times* correspondent—William Russell, the first war photographer—Roger Fenton, and Florence Nightingale and her nurses, public opinion at home began to come into the picture, and things had to change. In fact, the amount of reorganization carried out during the next few years shows that the old system had been shaken to its core.

A description of all the reforms does not come into this story, but those chiefly affecting the regiments were:—better supplies of clothing, stores, weapons, &c., new permanent training camps, e.g. Aldershot, Shorncliffe, &c., new barracks, weapon-training schools, and better transport and medical services. An important change within the regiments was the abolition of the Grenadier and Light Companies, as it was now thought that the training of all companies should come up to their standard, and that it would be better not to have the smartest and most efficient men concentrated in two companies.

Mechanization was gradually appearing too. Some journeys were made by train, instead of footslogging, and the electric telegraph was a startling novelty. Steamships have already been mentioned, and, as a hint of what was to come, there were now rifled cannon with a range of 5,000 yards.

One of the innovations of this period—personal decorations for bravery, in the form of the V.C. and the D.C.M., caused some controversy. A war medal was all right. It simply showed that a man had been with his regiment during a certain campaign, but personal decorations were another matter. Some of the Scottish regiments thought that a good soldier would always carry out any

duty which came his way, however dangerous, and that it was invidious and undesirable to give a man a special medal, because he had had opportunities which had not come to others. The 71st (HLI) held this view so strongly that they abstained from making any recommendations for the Crimea and campaigns which followed it. The V.C. was always reserved for the most conspicuous acts of personal bravery, and up to 1914 the total number awarded was only 522, but a study of the citations will show how much more had to be done to win one in the twentieth-century wars, than in the Crimea, when it might have been given for recovering a body under fire, or being the first man of a storming party to enter a breach.

The Crimean War was the only European campaign, between 1815 and 1914, in which the British Army was involved, but during Queen Victoria's reign it had to deal with about forty expeditions of varying size.

The 78th, or 'ROSS-SHIRE BUFFS', formed part of a force sent from India to PERSIA in 1856, to restrain that country from interfering in Afghanistan. Apparently the Persian government of that period was nearly as arrogant as Dr. Mossadek, but on that occasion it was put to the test, and it was found that British bayonets were very distasteful. The 78th got the battle honours 'KOOSH-AB' (i.e. pleasant water) and 'PERSIA', and explored the Euphrates and the desert country of Noah's great flood.

Next year they arrived back in India, to find a very nasty situation. Trouble had been brewing in 'John Company's'[1] army for some years. It is a long story, but the chief reasons were the inefficiency and bureaucracy of the Company's system, which kept on officers in their seventies, and pandered to the sepoys, encouraging them to appeal against the actions of their commanders; and, on the civil side, provided certain ambitious Rajahs with grievances, which set them scheming and secretly spreading sedition.

Reports from the Crimea of the deficiencies of the Army, plus the fact that the Bengal native army, then about 137,000 strong, would only have to deal with a few thousand British troops, led the trouble-makers to think that the time was at hand. The incident of the greased cartridges for the new rifles was just a heaven-sent piece of propaganda, as an order had been issued authorizing sepoys to make their own grease, from the fat of animals which were neither sacred nor unclean according to their different religions; but it worked just the same. The organization was not unlike that of the present-day Communists. In each regiment there was a secret 'cell', usually among the *pahlwans* (wrestlers), who received information from hidden sources. The signal to act was the arrival of a man bearing such an innocent object as a *chapatti* (Indian pancake).

[1] East India Company.

The first mutiny, with atrocities, occurred at MEERUT in May 1857, and an ancient and completely futile Station Commander actually kept the British regiments in their lines, while the mutineers[1] murdered their own British officers and their families, set fire to their bungalows, and marched off, with bands playing, to Delhi. (This was a rather similar case to that of Sackville at Minden, and the Second-in-Command might have saved the situation if he had put the Commander under arrest, and given his own orders—admittedly a difficult position, and a dangerous precedent, but in both cases it seems fairly obvious that it would have been justified. It was done at Benares, in 1857, when Colonel Neill, a Scot with 'Covenanter' ancestors, took over from an incompetant Brigadier, and put the fear of Jehovah into the mutineers and rebels in that district.)

In DELHI there were no British troops—only officers and families, and a staff of nine officers and N.C.O.'s, under Lieutenant Willoughby, who superintended natives working at the great magazine. After a splendid defence and watching vainly for the dust of pursuers on the Meerut road, they blew up the magazine with themselves inside the compound, destroying numbers of the besieging mutineers, and their own sepoys who had climbed over the walls to join them. (Surprisingly five of them escaped and were awarded V.C.'s.) All the Europeans, except a few who fled, were murdered, but a telegraph operator just managed to get a warning through to Sir John Lawrence, Governor of the Punjab, which enabled him to forestall any likely mutinies in that province, and later to send valuable reinforcements of Punjabis and Sikhs to Delhi. In that city a decrepit and drug-sodden descendant of Akbar the Great was set up as king and became the rallying centre of the mutiny. Cawnpore and Lucknow, with small British garrisons were besieged, and no European outside these places was safe from insult, robbery and murder. Mutineers from many other stations were converging on these three centres in great numbers, and it seemed likely that they would soon make an end of the few beleaguered British. That was the first stage, which promised well for the mutineers.

The situation of the British looked almost hopeless—not the only time this has happened—but as usual, there were men who rose to the occasion—John Lawrence, of the Punjab, Henry Lawrence of Lucknow (killed), Hugh Rose, Colin Campbell, C.-in-C. after Anson's death, who had told the Highlanders when saying goodbye in the Crimea, that he was too old for further service, Henry Havelock (died at Lucknow), James Outram; then the younger men, some destined for future fame—John Nicholson (killed at Delhi),

[1] The troops christened the mutineers 'the Pandies', after Mangal Pandi, the Sepoy who began the shooting at Meerut.

Frederick Roberts, Garnet Wolseley, Hodson, the firebrand light cavalryman, and many others.

Fortunately the trouble did not spread to the Madras and Bombay armies, but it covered an area extending from Calcutta, the whole length of the Ganges valley.

The first step, on our side, was to put a check on the rising morale of Delhi, and a small column collected from Meerut and Amballa, in which was the 75th (1/GORDONS), marched there, meeting opposition on the way, and established a sort of token siege. They had not the numbers or the guns to assault the walled city, which was teeming with mutineers, so they encamped on 'the ridge' —a position which commanded a full view of Delhi on its north side. While they waited there for reinforcements, giving all the trouble they could and being constantly attacked, they were at least a constant reminder to the rebels that the Sahibs, whose salt they had so foully dishonoured, would come back.

The 75th had been at Kasauli (noted in later times as the treatment centre for people bitten by mad dogs), and the first order they received was to send the Light Company, rather incongruously on elephants, to Kalka, to protect European families evacuated from Simla. The remainder joined the column at Amballa.

The march to Delhi was carried out in May, when the heat is intense and, dressed in clothing designed for home service, it was no unusual thing to see a man collapse from heatstroke as suddenly as if he had been shot down. Not all the lessons of march discipline had yet been learned, and the thirst produced by marching in a choking dust cloud, added to the heat, made men drink any water they could find. This was probably the original cause of some deaths from cholera, Colonel Hallifax of the 75th being one of the victims.

At a place called BADLI-KI-SARAI, on the Grand Trunk Road a few miles from Delhi, they found the mutineers barring the way, and the 75th were detailed to take a well-sited and entrenched battery. They were under fire from round-shot and grape for 1,200 yards, and suffered severely, but they advanced steadily and finally charged and took the guns. This action was highly praised in Field Force Orders, and had an important effect on the campaign, as it was the first defeat of the mutineers, it opened the way to Delhi, and it was seen by the Rajah of Jheend—an old warrior and an important man among the Sikhs, who later gave good help against the mutineers. He said he saw the rush of white soldiers, in the face of heavy fire, that there was no hesitation, no seeking cover, and *they went straight*. He added that, whatever the difficulties then, a nation with such soldiers must win in the end. (In Oriental affairs—and frequently elsewhere—fighting value and power were the supreme test of worthiness.)

PLATE VI

Left to right

1860
1st Midlothian Artillery Volunteers
Gunner

1877
10th Renfrew Rifle Volunteers
Major

1860
2nd Lanark Engineer Volunteers
Captain

1875
18th Perth Rifle Volunteers
Rifleman (*Murray of Atholl tartan*)

1882
The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders)
Coy. Officer, Egypt (*service dress*)

1859
The Queen's Own Rifles of Canada (Highland Coy.)
Officer
(Forerunners of the 48th Highlanders of Canada)

1880
The 2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys)
Officer (*stable jacket*)

1889
The Dunedin Highland Rifles, of New Zealand
Staff-Sergeant

PLATE VI

Figures A & B

The other Scottish regiments, which took part in the campaign, were not in India during the early stages, but arrived at various times—the 78th (SEAFORTH) returned from Persia, the 93rd (A & SH), *en route* for China, were given fresh orders at the Cape, the 42nd (BW), the 79th (CAMERONS), and the 90th (2/CAMERONIANS) arrived at later stages. Near the end came the 71st and 74th (1/ and 2/HLI), the 72nd (1/SEAFORTH) and the 92nd (2/GORDONS).

Apart from DELHI, the most important objective, where the siege went on until the final ASSAULT AND CAPTURE of the city in September 1857, the most urgent business was to relieve Cawnpore and Lucknow, situated roughly forty-five miles apart, and it was in these relief expeditions that the Highlanders came in for much heavy fighting.

The 78th (2/SEAFORTH) formed part of a column, 1,500 strong, under General Havelock (under whom they had served in Persia), which marched from Allahabad (i.e. The descendants of Allah), to relieve Cawnpore.

It was the rainy season and for some days they waded and staggered through squelching morasses, while the rain came down almost solid, and the hot, humid atmosphere made life a misery. But sinister rumours were about, that Wheeler at Cawnpore had surrendered, so all possible haste was made, in the hope that the news was exaggerated. Twice on the route large forces of mutineers advanced against them, and were driven off. It somehow put new life into the exhausted men, to feel they could at last punish these murderers, and reports went back to Cawnpore that enormous numbers of British were approaching and that some were dressed in skirts, as a sign of the revenge they would take for the 'mem-sahibs' who had been murdered.

At 3.0 a.m. on the last morning of the march, Havelock addressed the troops and told them that there were still 200 women and children to be rescued, and that fighting lay ahead.

Filled with excitement and grim determination, though worn out and half starved, they marched another twenty miles and went into action at the end of it. There were 5,000 rebels strongly posted outside Cawnpore, waiting to receive them with artillery and rifle fire. On the British side there was no artillery support, as the hard-driven oxen could not draw the guns fast enough to keep up with the infantry, and were far behind. But there was no waiting. It was mainly an affair with the bayonet, in which the 78th got among the enemy's guns and played havoc with the sepoys. Then there was an enemy cavalry attack, which was beaten off, and finally the mutineers became a defeated rabble, throwing away equipment and bolting.

According to Havelock's bugler, a 78th man who acted as 'time keeper', the battle took exactly two hours and forty-five minutes,

and Havelock, delighted with the way the 78th rushed at the enemy, made his memorable remark, 'I am not a Highlander, but I wish I was one.'

A wounded piper found an original way of using his pipes as an 'instrument of war'. A mounted sowar came after him, with drawn sword, and he calmly 'loaded' his big drone and brought it up to the 'present', seeing which, the sowar took violent evasive action and disappeared.

It was lucky for the mutineers that they had legged it and were miles away when, next morning, the troops entered Cawnpore and discovered the enormities which had been perpetrated.

As parties of British approached the Beebeegurh (women's house) there was an extraordinary silence and absence of the usual gaping natives, and soon they came to a room where the floor was inches deep in blood, and the walls were splashed all round and gashed with sword cuts. In the blood lay bits of feminine clothing, locks of hair, shoes and other pathetic souvenirs, and from the doors hung futile ropes made from women's dresses. In a water-hole outside lay the horrific remains of 118 women and 92 children, murdered two nights before. All the men had been shot previously and the story of what these unfortunate people had suffered before they died is almost unbelievable.

There had been murders of families in Delhi, Jhansi, Meerut and other places, but this foul scene made an even deeper and more infuriating impression on the minds of the soldiers, and henceforth they were not merely fighting a war according to orders, but had become savage and pitiless killers of mutineers, each one with a personal urge to destroy as many as possible.

Colonel Neill (the man who had dealt with Benares), was left in charge with 300 of his MADRAS FUSILIERS (later the ROYAL DUBLIN FUSILIERS), while Havelock marched on at once to Lucknow, hoping to prevent a similar massacre there. Neill was not the man to deal lightly with any crime and he got to work with a fourfold gallows and did considerable execution, until Sir Colin Campbell arrived in November and stopped him, as in his view he was carrying out revenge rather than justice.

After this Cawnpore became a base of operations for four separate expeditions to LUCKNOW, and was constantly threatened by large enemy forces. The first expedition, by Havelock's column, had to be abandoned after fighting three actions and, on its return, fought another battle at BITHUR—making Havelock's ninth success in all. At this point Sir James Outram arrived to supersede him, but with the unselfish sportsmanship for which he was noted, he refused to deprive Havelock, after all he had done, of the honour of relieving Lucknow, and insisted on accompanying him in his civil capacity,

as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, serving as a volunteer private—an act of self-denial which has not often been equalled in the history of Generalship.

The 78th were again with Havelock, on his second attempt. There were two actions on the way, at MANGALWAR (Tuesday) and BASHIRATGANJ, where the mutineers did not stay long enough for severe punishment. Then, at the ALAM BAGH, a country palace of the King of Oudh, there was a battle against 10,000 mutineers, in which the 78th and the 5th (R.N.F.) stormed the buildings, and the enemy were pursued up to the Charbagh (four gardens) bridge, which had to be crossed to enter Lucknow.

The crossing itself, in the face of six guns firing grapeshot, was an exciting episode, in which Havelock's son distinguished himself. The 78th were then ordered to act as rearguard, while the force was fighting its way through the buildings and streets, towards the Residency. While the battle went on in front, they were attacked from other directions, and were engaged, on their own, in a fierce and bloody struggle which lasted three hours.

Lucknow, seen at peace, was like a city of the Arabian Nights—filled with fantastic palaces and mosques, with domes, minarets, and tall archways gleaming white, against the green of well-planned gardens and groves of trees. But this was 1857 and, at the far end near the Gumtee river, was the battered ruin of the Residency with its hard-bitten, sun-blackened defenders, where the sounds of bangs and crumps had continued round the clock since the beginning of July.

Now it was the 25th of September, the lawns were a faded brown, the palaces were fortified and garrisoned by mutineers, and dust and smoke and din filled the city. Even the squalid narrow streets and the bazaars hid snipers, and mutineers with guns appeared at many of the intersecting alleys among these stinking warrens.

Havelock had about 3,000 men, against untold numbers, so his main object was to reach the Residency, without attempting to clear the enemy from all the other buildings, and after silencing the guns at the Kaiserbagh (i.e. Emperor's garden) the troops simply fought their way through. The 78th, now leading one column, eventually came to the Bailey Guard at the main entrance to the Residency, and here an unfortunate incident occurred. A party of loyal sepoys of the 13th BENGAL INFANTRY (there were numbers of Indians who remained loyal, in spite of everything) came out, rather unwisely, to meet them, and the Highlanders, whose blood was up, after hours of fighting, bayonetted two or three, before anyone had time to think.

Even this tragedy, however, could not dim the scene that followed. It was one of those moments which live on in history, like the pic-

tures of the old masters—as good as when they were painted.

As the Highlanders marched into the ruins, headed by General Havelock, the pipes played, and from every sand-bagged hole and trench and doorway, tattered, hollow-eyed figures rose up, rifle in hand, and cheered, or rushed to meet them. Men, women and children came crowding to the verandahs with shouts and screams of welcome. The bearded, bloodstained Highlanders broke ranks and rushed to seize hands and, with tears in their eyes, picked up the children and kissed them. The feelings of the defenders at their relief were beyond expression, and the relieving force, having expected another Cawnpore, were equally moved.

But this was not the end. There were still 60,000 mutineers in Lucknow, so Havelock's force (the command now taken over by Outram) could do no more than form a very welcome reinforcement, almost tripling the strength of the garrison, and making the defence much more secure. (This might have been impossible but for the forethought of Henry Lawrence, who had accumulated enormous stores of grain and other supplies before the mutiny began.)

They had to wait another six weeks before Sir Colin Campbell arrived from Cawnpore with a force in which were the 93rd (2/A & S), and part of the 90th (2/CAMERONIANS), most of the 78th now forming part of the beleaguered garrison. Several of the large fortified buildings had to be taken during this advance, and it fell to the 93rd, after clearing some suburbs, to take a leading part in storming the SIKANDERBAGH (i.e. Alexander's garden), in which was a tall building, enclosing a courtyard 120 yards square, and manned by 2,000 sepoys, who kept up a deadly fire from the embrasures, which ran all round the top of the walls, about 20 feet above ground.

Campbell ordered the troops to lie down and wait under cover, while guns were brought up, and for an hour a slow bombardment of muzzle-loaders was concentrated on a part of a wall, gunners frequently being hit by musket balls, as they served the guns.

Eventually there was a hole large enough to admit one man at a time, and the assault was made. The first at the breach were some men of the 4th PUNJAB RIFLES, but their officers were shot down and there was a pause, whereupon Sir Colin shouted to Colonel Ewart, 'Bring on the tartan!' and the 93rd filtered through, each man forcing his way in with the bayonet and keeping the enemy back to let the next one through, until there were enough to make an advance.

Cawnpore was in their minds, Campbell was near, and there were 2,000 murdering mutineers inside. There were not many exits for them, and they also thought of Cawnpore and fought like cornered rats. So it took four hours to shoot or bayonet them all. The last victim was an unexpected one. In the centre of the courtyard was a large peepul tree in the shade of which were some water

'chatthis'. Someone noticed a number of Highlanders lying dead under the tree. He took a careful look among the branches, raised his rifle and fired, and down came a woman in a red coat and pink trousers, with a pair of cavalry pistols.

This type of fighting continued for several days, Outram's force, which was previously established in some of the buildings outside the Residency, co-operating.

The 90th and the 78th each had companies in both the garrison and the relieving force, all of which had exciting times and reunions on the battlefield. Captain Wolseley (later Sir Garnet and C.-in-C.) of the 90th was sent to seize the mess bungalow of the 32nd, and later took part in the storming of the Moti Mahal (Pearl Mansion), where his and Captain Tilling's company (from the Lucknow garrison) met. But when the fighting ended, on 17th November, Campbell was not strong enough to hold Lucknow in addition to his other commitments. By a skilful ruse he got out 600 women and children, 1,000 sick and wounded, stores of grain, &c., and the treasury, in an enormous convoy, unseen by the enemy, until they were outside the city. Leaving Outram with one division, to hold the Alambagh, he marched back to Cawnpore. Just before they went, to the great regret of everyone, and specially the Highlanders, Havelock died and was buried at the Alambagh. Twenty miles out Campbell again had to call on his troops, including 'his own lads' the 93rd (of which he became Colonel in 1858) and tell them that Cawnpore was being attacked, and that they had to get to a bridge of boats before night, and hold it for the convoy to cross the Ganges. They were already worn out with marching and fighting and had not had their clothes off for eighteen days, but they were not going to let him down. They had covered forty-seven miles in thirty hours when they reached the bridge. The troops crossed under fire and drove back the sepoys, and the great convoy with the families and sick was sent on, under a strong escort, to Allahabad. The 93rd, with the 42nd (BW), then took part in a successful battle against 25,000 rebels from Gwalior, who had surrounded the small force at CAWNPORE and had anticipated carrying out another massacre.

Outram held on outside Lucknow, and remained a menace to the mutineers, who outnumbered him by thirty to one, until Campbell came back in March 1858. Among his troops then there was a goodly proportion of 'the tartan'—which now included the 79th (CAMERONS), in addition to the regiments already mentioned—and it was a force of respectable size—about 30,000 men, with 150 guns.

The mutineers, who now numbered 120,000, had constructed three lines of enormous ramparts, but, like the builders of the Maginot Line, it never seemed to have occured to them that the enemy might come from the wrong direction. This was what hap-

pened, and Campbell's guns fired on the rear side of these massive defences causing considerable consternation. But most of the palaces and great buildings had to be stormed once again. The 42nd were in the lead this time and had their fill. The 79th were attached to Outram's division, which moved out from the Alambagh and also took a full share in the general assault.

The 93rd practically repeated what they had done in the second relief, at the Sikanderbagh. This time it was the BEGUM KOTHI (Queen's House) they had to assault. The procedure was very much as before, but there were 5,000 sepoys who had barricaded themselves in a warren of corridors, balconies, and rooms of various sizes. To begin with over 850 of them were killed in the courtyard. Then the 'winkling out' process began. Hand grenades would have been just the job, but they were not used at this period. Bags of powder, with lighted fuses, were thrown into some of the rooms, but in most cases the bayonet and an occasional shot accomplished all that was necessary. The Adjutant, William McBean—a man from the ranks who later commanded the regiment—went into one room alone and killed two N.C.O.'s and nine sepoys, for which he was awarded the V.C. When told it was 'a good day's work', he said quite seriously, 'Tuts, it didna tak me twenty meenuts'. Throughout the grim proceedings Pipe-Major John McLeod strolled up and down the corridors, playing his pipes—as he 'knew it would encourage the lads'.

For days the city remained enveloped in dust and smoke, and resounded to the crash of guns and rifles, and the shouts and screams of all-in scrimmages. According to William Russell of *The Times*, the orgy of killing ended somewhat discreditably, with a spectacular bout of looting among the richly varied and unwieldly treasures of the palaces, but eventually order was restored and all was quiet.

Unfortunately Campbell, perhaps unduly affected by so much killing, became over-careful of his men's lives, forbidding Outram to risk a single man in cutting off a certain line of retreat. Thus thousands of mutineers got away and added to the work of the mopping-up columns which scoured central India until 1859, hunting out 'ubeequitous characters', such as Tantia Tope, the Nana, the Ranee of Jhansi and others, and destroying all organized bands.

These columns, among which were the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd brigaded together, and 71st and 74th (1/2/HLI), 72nd (1/SEAFORTH) and 92nd (2/GORDONS), had most varied and interesting times. They marched through jungles teeming with game, breakfasted on peafowl, and once saw a white elephant. They rode camels and elephants, bathed in rivers where crocodiles dozed on the mudflats, held pony race meetings, encountered the most odd and primitive inhabitants, and saw a great deal of wonderful scenery. All this

was interspersed with sudden unexpected skirmishes, forced marches begun at dead of night, and some quite large-scale actions.

Apart from these operations, there was one more battle at Cawnpore, and there is the wonderful story of how Sir Hugh Rose took the towering rock fortress of JHANSI—which had 11,000 defenders and much artillery. Rose had 5,000 men, mostly sepoys, but when Tantia came with a relieving army of 22,000, he merely detached a part of his force, which completely routed them, while the remainder carried on with the preparations for the storming of Jhansi.

The end of it all was that, when order was mainly restored, in October 1858, the government of India was taken over by the Crown, and the old 'John Company' died a natural death.

Since the Crimean War, France, under the Third Empire, had once again shown signs of aggressive militarism. She threatened Austria, and her tone became so hostile towards Britain, that some rash and boastful French officers so far lost their discretion as to talk of planting Imperial Eagles on the Tower of London. Even the peaceful British public began to resent this, and to feel uneasy at having allowed the VOLUNTEERS to lapse after the Napoleonic Wars. It was as a result of their offers to re-form units that action was eventually taken, in 1859, and the force was re-created. In Scotland, as in England, units were formed all over the country, and this force, being judiciously encouraged, became a permanent part of the defence system. At first it was only intended for defence, but its association with the regular army gradually grew closer, until now, as the TERRITORIAL ARMY, it forms an essential part of the general scheme.

The movement was not confined to the United Kingdom, and among other units raised in the Dominions, some of the Canadian Scottish ones made their first appearance—or, at least began their present existence about this time—in 1862, the 5th Battalion ROYAL LIGHT INFANTRY (BW, RHR, OF CANADA), 1866, the 28th PERTH BATTALION OF INFANTRY (the PERTH REGIMENT), 1866, the 42nd BROCKVILLE BATTALION OF INFANTRY (59 A.A. REGIMENT (LANARK AND RENFREW SCOTTISH)), 1866, the 20th HALTON BATTALION OF INFANTRY (THE LORNE SCOTS (PEEL, DUFFERIN AND HALTON REGIMENT)), 1868 the 59th STORMONT & GLENGARRY BATTALION OF INFANTRY (S.D.G. HRS.).

Others followed at intervals, and thus the Dominions began to build up their permanent military systems which were eventually to take over entirely from the garrisons of British regular troops. From 1860, for ten years, CANADA'S MILITIA made good use of special opportunities for improving its efficiency, and quite considerable numbers went on active service.

After the U.S. CIVIL WAR, 1861–5, during which the 'Trent affair'

nearly had very serious results, there were constant scares of attacks by 'FENIANS' or Americans, which caused partial mobilizations. One result was that, in order to organize her defence more efficiently, Eastern Canada became a united Dominion. This was mainly due to the efforts of Sir John MacDonald, and in 1868 another Militia Act was passed.

The following year there was a revolt by French-Indian half-breeds and other malcontents, resulting from the Government taking over from the Hudson Bay Co., in Rupertsland. In 1870 Colonel Garnet Wolseley led the RED RIVER EXPEDITION, to deal with Reil's so-called 'Republic of the North-West', but in 1885 Reil tried again, and this time he was hanged.

The Militia were concerned in all these affairs, which involved some fighting and enabled them to get valuable training and more equipment, and to improve their staff organization and ancillary services. Then, in 1884, they began to take part in Empire military affairs, by sending a special corps of about 380 volunteers to join the British troops in the SUDAN.

France had trouble coming to her, from her vicious Eastern neighbour, which effectively curbed any aggressive intentions, so the Volunteers at home for many years had to endure the taunt of 'playing at soldiers', while the regular army continued with its numerous overseas garrisons and its widespread minor wars.

The 1st Battalion ROYAL SCOTS was stationed at Hong Kong and became involved in a CHINESE REVOLT against the 'foreign devils', in 1859–60, and took part in several operations, including the amphibious expedition which took the Taku forts. The CAMERONIANS, in 1868, were on service in ABYSSINIA, that ancient and interesting country, ruled over by 'The Lion of Judah' 'where the elephants of Asia bore the artillery of Europe over African passes which might have . . . appalled the hunter of the Alps.' In 1873 the 42nd, with volunteers from the 79th in its ranks, took part in the ASHANTI expedition, under Maj.-General Sir Garnet Wolseley (late 90th), and shared the battle honour with the R. WELCH FUSILIERS and the RIFLE BRIGADE. In this case King Coffee Calcalli, a fat and barbarous man, whose capital, Coomassie, was referred to as 'the metropolis of murder', had exceeded all limits by marching on Cape Coast Castle, held by a garrison of 1,000, with an army of 50,000 coal-black warriors who, however, had no success there. The punitive expedition had to contend with a vile climate, porters who deserted at any moment, and an enemy who was frequently quite invisible in the dense jungle and bush, through which they had to cut their way. At times there was heavy fighting, and finally Coomassie was entered and burned with all its skulls and shrines of human sacrifice. The 42nd wore suits of nondescript colour, with breeches, but the

pipes were heard in 'darkest Africa', and the little red hackles on their topees showed who they were.

About this time the FIRST CITY VOLUNTEERS, being one of those useful local units which could quickly assemble and be sent to deal with trouble at the outset, was getting a great deal of experience. It was on service in KAFFRARIA in 1877, putting down the rebellion of the GAIKAS AND GALEKAS, and in 1880–1 it had a long spell in BASUTOLAND, for which there are eight battle honours on the regimental Colour.

The battle honour 'SOUTH AFRICA 1879' is on the colours of RSF and A & SH and on the records of the CAMERONIANS, for service against those bloody-minded warriors the ZULUS, under their truculent chief, Cetawayo. The 90th formed part of the square at Ulundi, where 20,000 of these ferocious devotees of war met their Waterloo.

At the same time the 25th (KOSB), 72nd (SEAFORTH) and 92nd (GORDONS) were engaged among the scorching rocky hills, and the snows of AFGHANISTAN, in the war of 1878–80. This is a long story in itself, beginning with the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, the Viceroy's envoy, at Kabul, and the epic fight of his escort of the GUIDES CAVALRY. The wily and fanatical tribesmen came out in great numbers and fought with determination. As at Lucknow the Highlanders fought beside the GURKHAS and, both being hillmen and tough soldiers, a strong friendship grew up between them, and they did much hill-climbing and made many bayonet charges together. 1/KOSB, in India, had suffered badly from cholera and would not have been sent to Afghanistan, had they not made a special request. They took part in the Bazar Valley expedition, but had a somewhat dull time, mostly on lines of communication. Sir Frederick Roberts, whom the Highlanders at Lucknow had named 'plucky wee Bobs', was leading the Kurram Valley column. There were many critical periods and some reverses during the battles, which were fought around KABUL, where as many as 100,000 men were engaged on both sides, at MAIWAND where the 66th (2/R. Berks) made their memorable stand, and at KANDAHAR.

The march of Roberts' column from Kabul to Kandahar, to restore the position, and prevent another massacre, after General Burrows' disaster at Maiwand, is still regarded as a historic feat of endurance and organization. There were sixteen regiments in the column, including the 92nd (1st Brigade) and the 72nd (2nd Brigade). No wheeled transport and no camels were taken, pack-guns carried on mules were the only artillery, and kit and supplies were cut to the last ounce, but even then there were over 8,000 mules, ponies and donkeys, and 8,000 native followers. This was in August, when the heat is hardly bearable, and they covered 303 miles over

stony tracks, in suffocating dust clouds, with a very tight ration of water, in twenty days, including one rest day. Reveille was at 2.45 a.m. each day, and they marched from 4 a.m. until about 4 p.m., the end of the column reaching camp an hour later. This averages 15 miles a day and about 1¼ miles per hour, but it has to be remembered that, though no fighting actually occurred, precautions had to be taken. When passing through broken and hilly country where the cavalry could not cover the advance, this meant picqueting the commanding heights on each side of the route. The picqueting troops had strenuous and perspiring climbs to points of vantage ahead of the column, lay there on guard while the long lines of men and animals passed below, and then climbed down to join the rearguard. So all the infantry went through a rotation—advance-guard, picquets, rearguard, main body, gradually working forward to join the advanceguard again. Then, of course, a large number were for picquet duty each night. Nothing could have delighted the Afghans more than to find an unprotected column winding through a pass (as they did in 1842), ambush it and rush down with their knives. But Roberts was not that sort of general. They arrived in good order at KANDAHAR on 31st August 1880, and fought the decisive battle there, which ended the war on 1st September.

It was a long, hard campaign against wild, tough, hairy men who possessed all the normal weapons including artillery, plus having particular skill with long knives; who killed the wounded and mutilated the dead. Many of them, having made vows to Allah, would rush in, believing that death in battle meant immediate entry to a heaven filled with enchanting houris, and so could only be stopped by death.

There were opposite extremes of climate too, much hardship, including a tobacco famine, and quite a number of casualties, but as always, the troops made the best of things. When snow came, during a peaceful period, great 'battles' were organized, 'regiments' with Afghan standards attacking strongly-held 'forts', and 'drummers' urging them on by beating dixies. The 92nd performed the Hogmanay ceremonies, 1879–80, in six inches of snow, and the band and pipes went round the camp, halting at Roberts's quarters to cheer, and call him out. He came willingly, saying that as they had always answered his call, he now gladly answered theirs. He gave them a pretty speech at the end of the campaign too—'You beat them at Kabul, and you have beaten them at Kandahar and now, as you are about to leave the country, you may be assured that the very last troops the Afghans ever want to meet in the field are Scottish Highlanders and Gurkhas.' When Lord Roberts was created a G.C.B. he followed the example of Sir John Moore in choosing a GORDON HIGHLANDER as one of his 'supporters'. Once

again, in later years, General Sir Ian Hamilton followed this precedent.

While the GORDONS were at Sherpur cantonment, outside Kabul, there was a little incident which emphasized the good comradeship existing in the regiment. The promotion of Colour-Sergeant Hector A. MacDonald, to Sub-Lieutenant, was announced by a citation in the *London Gazette*, and all ranks decided to give him their congratulations. This was how they did it. He was carried shoulder-high by men of his company, preceded by a piper, to the officers' quarters. The whole company turned out to give him a cheer, and each man, separately, came forward and saluted him. The officers of the regiment presented him with a sword, and the sergeants gave him a dirk.

The next of these multifarious campaigns was the first BOER WAR, 1880–81, which brought nothing but discredit on the British Government, and an unpleasant memory for the only Highland regiment involved, the 92nd (2/GORDONS).

This time the trouble was farther north, in the Transvaal, which had become a Boer republic in 1854, with a president named Pretorius, and Paul Kruger—later to become more prominent—as Commandant-General. This republic was not a success financially or in regard to military security, and in 1877 it was annexed, with fairly general approval, by the British Government, which fought the Zulu war for its protection. At that time its treasury contained twelve shillings and sixpence—some of it in bad coins! Then it became prosperous and the Boers regretted the handing over and found many grievances—real or otherwise, and in 1880 they rebelled and re-proclaimed it as a republic on 15th December.

There were many loyalists among them, but the hot-heads won, and they attacked the garrison at POTCHEFSTROOM, isolated seven other small stations, and ambushed a convoy on the march to Pretoria. In the regimental museum of the ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS is a home-made Union Jack, constructed from strips of uniforms—a treasured relic of the defence of Potchefstroom.

For three months it flew above the small fort, while 200 Fusiliers, under Major Winsloe, held it against repeated Boer attacks. Finally, much reduced by casualties and sickness, and with not a crumb of food remaining, they surrendered, and were granted 'the honours of war'.

The 92nd reached Durban on 30th January 1881, and joined Sir George Colley's column. There was much indecision as to whether the war could be stopped, futile parleying, and general lack of determination by the Government.

Sir George Colley's actions seem rather to reflect this state of mind. Part of his force was defeated at Lang's Nek, near the border

of Natal and the Transvaal. Then apparently intending to surprise the Boer laagers in that district he set out, by night, on a minor enterprise, from which he did not return.

He led a small force consisting of detachments of various regiments, including one from the 92nd, numbering in all about 350, to the top of one of those familiar steep, rocky hills, or kopjes, known as MAJUBA HILL. In the darkness it was quite a feat to reach the top, much of it being done on all fours, scrambling over rocks and gullies, and through thorn bushes. With much cursing and many minor injuries, the men arrived in a fairly exhausted condition, and were posted round the circumference of the saucer-shaped summit (probably an ancient volcanic crater), with a reserve in the central hollow. No entrenching was done—officers were told it was not necessary. In fact very little was done.

When morning came there was a view of several Boer laagers, where they appeared to be in-spanning to move off. But concentrated and very accurate sniping developed, and meanwhile Commandant Schmidt, having skilfully posted snipers to give covering fire and disguise his real intention, sent several large parties of Boers to move up the hill in game-stalking style. Any movements round the top gave them a clearly silhouetted view, but down below they themselves were completely hidden. To cut the story short, some of them reached a position from which they could fire across the British position, without giving a target themselves. Other parties came up from different angles, and the troops were under close-range fire being shot up from many directions, and unable to make any effective reply. The General and many others were killed and it ended in a rout.

The GORDONS had 5 officers and 118 men on the hill, of whom 1 officer and 44 O.R.'s were killed, or died of wounds, and 53 were wounded, nearly half of the total casualties. In his dispatch Sir Evelyn Wood, the G.O.C., mentioned four of these officers, among them Ian Hamilton, and Captain MacGregor (A.D.C. to the General), for conspicuously good work, and said 'the conduct of the 92nd was excellent throughout.' Private John Murray was recommended for the D.C.M. It was a bad show, mainly due to staff blunders—giving the enemy a sitting target, no cover, no offensive action, &c.—but it can at least be said that the 92nd came out without a stain on their character.

The most disgraceful part was the way in which the disaster was magnified at home, and the alacrity of the defeatist and anti-imperialist Prime Minister in seizing on it to make a discreditable peace, while Sir F. Roberts was on his way to Cape Town with reinforcements.

CHAPTER IX · 1881-1902

CARDWELL. NORTH AFRICA. INDIA.
SECOND BOER WAR.
DOMINION SCOTTISH REGIMENTS

The Army went through another 'spring-cleaning' period between 1870 and the end of the century. No doubt the spectacular German victories over France, in 1871, played their part, as the most important reforms were made under Gladstone's government and he would hardly have gone to such lengths merely for the security of the Empire!

Most of the reforms were devised by Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for War, with that steadily-rising Staff Officer, Garnet Wolseley, as his military adviser. (At various times three 90th officers became Field Marshals and C's-in-C.—Lords Hill and Wolseley, and Sir Evelyn Wood.) They began work at the top with the War Office Act of 1870, and in the same year they introduced a new short service system—six years with the Colours, and six in reserve. Until 1847, apart from one or two short-lived experiments, men had signed on for life. Service in the ranks (except in Scotland) had always been considered by civilians as a job only for men with sub-normal intelligence and a large capacity for beer. So recruits had been scarce and when regiments had to mobilize, or fill the gaps caused by casualties, the only sources of supply were the Militia and the gaols. The new system in time produced a ready-made reserve for each regiment—of its own men—an extremely welcome change from having to take over drafts of part-trained militia, supplemented by a good proportion of gangsters and pickpockets, and make them into soldiers at short notice. The Scottish regiments were usually more fortunate, but at times they had to carry out the same process.

The next year Cardwell and Wolseley tackled the officer problem and abolished the ancient system originating from mediaeval free-booting companies, in which an officer paid for his job as an investment, which should show substantial profits in loot. This system had at some periods had its uses, as it ensured that only men with a

substantial position obtained commissions, thus excluding revolutionary types. The abolition, however, made considerable trouble, as normal vacancies provided so little promotion, and it took years to sort it out.

The next really big change made by these two was the amalgamation of pairs of regiments—again much disgruntlement at the loss of individual numbers and facings, and the merging of battle honours and all the minor distinctions so hardly won and so jealously guarded.

A typical example of regimental sentiment (now as well as in 1881) was the 92nd, which gave its number a full military funeral at dead of night, and next day had flags flying with the inscription—'Ninety-Twa No' Deid Yet!'

But in the course of time it grew into a satisfactory system, and with a regular 'trooping' programme, one battalion was always overseas, while the other was at home. They, of course, shared a depot, and the Militia became the 3rd and 4th battalions of each regiment, and Volunteer units were affiliated.

The first twenty-five regiments already had two battalions, but the following were affected:— the 26th and 90th became the CAMERONIANS (SCOTTISH RIFLES); the 42nd and 73rd the BLACK WATCH; the 71st and 74th the HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY; the 72nd and 78th the SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS; the 75th and 92nd the GORDON HIGHLANDERS. The 79th Q.O. CAMERON HIGHLANDERS remained as the only single battalion regiment in the army, until a second battalion was raised in 1897. The 91st and 93rd completed the list as the ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS (for full titles see appendix). All Scottish regiments, except the 'Royal' ones which kept their blue, and the CAMERONIANS, were ordered to wear yellow facings. HLI and SEAFORTH eventually regained their original buff colour. A strange coincidence occurred on the last full-dress parade of the 73rd, before the change, when the wind blew the number '73' out of the battle-torn colour.

At the same time there was a general improvement in conditions, better barracks, better canteens, properly organized sports and competitions, and a brighter outlook in nearly all directions. Up to that time drunkenness had been considered a necessary evil in most regiments, but for various reasons it decreased very much after these changes, and the profits of the canteen wallahs fell off alarmingly. An example of the changed outlook by about 1902 was given by 'Big Mac' of the BLACK WATCH who, when he came back to barracks in Edinburgh Castle one night, feeling the worse for wear, was so ashamed (or apprehensive) that he siezed a blanket and crept away to spend the night hidden inside the barrel of 'Mons Meg' (a fifteenth-century gun, with a calibre of about 20 in., which stands in the Half Moon Battery pointing towards the Scott memorial.)

But the Army as a whole did not, at any time, have the chance to forget the realities of its job, and minor wars continued with remarkable regularity.

The next was an extremely well run example—Wolseley again. This was in Egypt where the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, followed by Disraeli's coup in buying a large proportion of the shares, had given us a substantial interest in that country. The canal was of great importance as a quick route to India, all the Far East countries, and Australia and New Zealand—and the French were doing rather well in Egypt.

In 1882 a certain Colonel Arabi Pasha, Minister of War to the Khedive (Turkish Viceroy) started a violent and insulting anti-foreign campaign, which culminated in rioting in Alexandria, involving the murders of about 150 Europeans. (The difference between British reaction then and after the murders in Cairo in 1952 is an interesting point.)

First the Navy bombarded Arabi's forts and took possession of Alexandria (the French war-ships having been withdrawn). Then with the approval of the Khedive, Wolseley arrived in command of two divisions, about 7,000 of his troops coming from India. In his force were 1/SCOTS GUARDS, 1/BLACK WATCH, 2/HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY, 1/SEAFORTH, 1/GORDON and the CAMERON HIGHLANDERS. By ingenious methods Wolseley convinced the enemy of his intention to land at Abukir and then, to the disgust of De Lesseps, the Navy took control of the canal, and the transports steamed up it, to land the troops at Ismailia.

There were first some encounters at El Magfar, Tel el Mahuta and at KASSASSIN, where General Graham had been sent to protect the locks of the Sweet Water Canal[1] and was heavily attacked by the Egyptians. The GUARDS BRIGADE, under the Duke of Connaught, which had been busy repairing damage to the railway and canal, was sent up in support, but did not go into action, as the enemy were driven off by the charge of Drury-Lowe's cavalry. Just as the short twilight had ended, guided by the flashes of guns and rifles, they came across the desert at full gallop, with swords glinting in the moonlight, and broke up the attacking Egyptians.

Meanwhile, about 25,000 of Arabi's men had entrenched themselves in a strong position near the TEL EL KEBIR railway station. Their lines were about three miles long and could only be attacked by a long advance across open sand, where there was no cover. So Wolseley decided on a night advance and an attack at dawn. This was quite a difficult operation, as about 13,000 troops—two infantry divisions—and the cavalry, with 42 guns, had to move in

[1] The Sweet Water Canal runs from the Nile at Cairo, into the Suez Canal near Ismailia. The water is 'fresh' but hardly 'sweet' and this was the only supply on the desert route to Cairo.

formation, directed by one Naval officer with a compass, taking his direction from the stars.

The whole force marched off at 1.30 a.m., the Highland Brigade, under Sir Archibald Alison, forming the leading line of the left division. All went well, and before first light they arrived near the enemy position. One of the Egyptian picquets then opened fire. On the British side two orders only were given—to fix bayonets, then the 'Charge' sounded by the buglers right across the front. The Highlanders were the first in, moving in close order, at the double, and cheering, the pipers, of course, using their 'instruments of war' with exhilarating effect. Rifle and artillery fire was then pouring from the whole three miles of enemy front, but it soon broke up into irregular shots, and all the usual sounds of a bayonet and butt-end tussle in trenches. Some Sudanese fought well, but most of the Egyptians 'had no stomach' and within half an hour all except 2,000, who lay in or near the trenches, were scattering to the rear, and so fast and so far did they go, that they were never seen again as organized units. When the Guards, forming the second line of the right division, reached the trenches, it was practically all over.

Wolseley, with sound psychology, sent the cavalry on with all speed to Cairo, so that they would arrive almost with the flood of wild stories and rumours which would surely run through the city. It worked perfectly, and they marched in next day and received the surrender of Arabi and 10,000 Egyptian troops, who had not fired a shot. The SCOTS GUARDS sent one company by train, as escort to Sir Garnet Wolseley. The remainder of them were the first infantry to arrive on foot and marched in with pipes playing, to take over the Citadel, where they were joined by 1/GORDONS and CAMERONS. The whole affair had been completed, with expert precision, in less than two months.

This campaign was fought in scarlet serge jackets and topees, and the men were armed with the Martini rifle, which in 1871 replaced the Snider-Enfield, the first breech-loader, issued in 1866. The Martini was a good weapon, but was only a single loader, and fired a .45 bullet using black powder. The field guns were, presumably, all breech-loaders, as these had been first used in the China War, 1860. Colours no longer appeared on the battlefield as, after March 1882, they were left at home when regiments went on active service.

The occupation of Cairo was only the beginning of our commitments in that quarter. The French had shed any responsibility they might have shouldered, so Gladstone became involved willy-nilly. It was necessary to retain garrisons in Egypt for the protection of Europeans, and the Egyptian Army was revived under British officers, on similar lines to the Indian Army. Sir Evelyn Wood was given the command and one of his officers was Horatio Herbert

Kitchener. Needless to say this was done in the hope of being able to withdraw the British troops as soon as order had been restored in this area, which had become the 'Piccadilly Circus' of Empire traffic—but British troops remained there for many decades, order not having been restored to a satisfactory degree.

Egypt included the SUDAN, where she had become notorious for misrule, slave trading and remorseless exploitation. Coincidentally, at this very period, a little before the Egyptian campaign, a self-styled 'Messiah' or 'Mahdi' had arisen to lead a 'jehad' (holy war) against the 'Turks'. (The Pashas of Egypt were nearly all of Turkish stock.) This man, Mohamed Ali by name, proved the holiness of his mission with great effect, by the total massacre, without one escape, of about 10,000 Egyptians under Colonel Hicks (Indian Army), who had been sent from Khartoum to round him up. His chief henchman, Osman Digna, successfully imitated his master by carrying out another massacre near Suakin, of more than half of a force of about 4,000, under Valentine Baker, in 1884. With such established prestige, every brigand and 'budmash' (scoundrel) in the Sudan joined them and produced a formidable army of savage raiders, with which they established a 'terror' worse than that of the Egyptians.

The British Government now felt responsible for withdrawing the Egyptian garrisons, and the most suitable man they could think of for this unenviable task was Major-General Charles Gordon—a man of strong character and with a fine reputation, who had previously served Egypt as Governor-General of the Sudan and was known as 'Chinese Gordon'—the man who made the 'Ever-Victorious Army' for the Chinese Government.

Gordon was sent out in January 1884, and a month later General Graham left Egypt with about 5,000 men, to seize and hold the port of Suakin, on the Red Sea, and restore order in that area. It was in this campaign that the BLACK WATCH and the GORDONS met the 'Fuzzy-Wuzzies'.

The country was all desert—soft and hard going, hilly and level, and at this time of year the heat was not too bad, but the nights were very cold. The enemy lurked in ravines ('khors') and rocky ground, and would rush out very suddenly, armed with various firearms, broad-bladed spears and swords with cross-hilts, like those of the Crusaders. The troops maintained square formation, even on the march—usually one square comprising the whole force, except for the cavalry patrols and scouts. Fighting troops formed the perimeter and inside were all the non-combatants, the camels, donkeys, &c. At night they camped in the same formation, building a 'zareba' (thorn hedge) all round, or, if there were no thorn bushes, constructing a slight barrier from the loads of the pack animals.

Some Gatlings—a very inefficient type of machine-gun, looking like a bundle of chimney sweep's rods mounted on a large gun-carriage—were with the force, and some hard-working sailors man-hauled naval field guns. Gatlings had been used in Afghanistan, but they usually jammed after one or two shots and remained useless until the need had passed. Other varieties were the Gardner and Nordenfeldt guns.

The 1st BLACK WATCH and the 1st GORDONS were in action at EL TEB, where the enemy were driven off, after an obstinate 'scrap' in which the GORDONS had ten men wounded, and again at TAMAI, the scene of Baker's disaster. There a blunder was made which nearly caused a repetition. The BLACK WATCH, forming the front of the square, were ordered by General Graham to charge a mass of enemy, which they did with great verve, some of the YORK AND LANCASTERS joining in. But this movement left an open side, like taking the lid off a box. Fighting was going on round all sides of the square, which was in broken and thorn-bush country, the smoke of the black powder hanging low in the still air, and before anyone realized what was happening, a solid mass of yelling dervishes rushed in at the open side of the square, stabbing and slashing at everything within reach. Then there was a pukka dog-fight—bayonets, swords, butt-ends, fists, boots, spades, everything which could hurt, and in all directions at once. The rear rank of the BLACK WATCH turned about and they fought two ways at the same time, as did those forming the other three sides of the square.

As the scrum went on they were pushed back some distance and the Gatlings remained isolated among the enemy, but every man did his damndest and Private Edwards of the Black Watch won a V.C. by recovering one of the guns and bringing in the body of a naval officer. In this case there were fortunately two brigade squares, and the other, under General Buller, and the cavalry, came to the rescue, with guns firing between the ranks of the GORDONS. In the end it was the 'Fuzzy-Wuzzies' who had had enough, but it had been 'a damned near-run thing', as Wellington might have said, and many lay still on the ground, or writhed in pain. (Owing to the enemy's prevalent custom of shamming dead and waiting for an opportunity to knife someone in the back or hamstring a horse, it was found most satisfactory to make sure that they were dead.)

Soon afterwards Graham's force was withdrawn, and Gordon's position became more and more difficult. The passive resistance of Gladstone for a long time prevented any action, but in the end public opinion forced him to send a relief expedition, under Lord Wolseley, in which were a detachment of the GREYS, the SCOTS GUARDS, the 1st BLACK WATCH, the 1st GORDONS, and the CAMERONS. There was also a corps of CANADIAN VOYAGEURS and a NEW SOUTH

WALES BATTALION—the first Dominion troops to be sent on Imperial service out of their own country. The force proceeded up the Nile, at first very comfortably in steamers and then, above the cataracts, in 800 whale boats. But the news of Gordon's plight became so alarming that a specially selected column, under Sir Herbert Stewart, was ordered to make a forced march by a shorter route, across the Bayuda Desert to Khartum, instead of continuing up the river. In the desert life depends on water supplies, and they had to rely on a small number of wells, which were familiar to the Dervishes, having been the halting-points of caravans for many centuries. So it was natural that the enemy should try to prevent their use, and the main fighting took place near them—mainly at ABU KLEA and ABU KRU. In the first action, fought on 17th January 1885, detachments of the SCOTS GUARDS (in the GUARDS CAMEL REGIMENT), the GREYS and the BLACK WATCH formed parts of a square which, like the one at Tamai, was broken into by a mass of Dervishes, most of whom did not get out again, though they killed many camels and their drivers. They left over 1,000 dead on the ground and the British loss in killed and wounded was about 170. After the battle a ration of muddy water from the Abu Klea wells could not have been valued in money.

On the night of 25th January 1885, an orgy of murder and looting broke out in Khartum and, amid a scene of general massacre, Gordon was killed. The strenuous efforts of the desert column had not been able to make up for the Government's procrastination, and they arrived within sight of Khartum two days too late. They were then ordered to retire as far as Wadi Halfa, about 800 miles down the Nile, and in this area, the CAMERONS were several times engaged with Dervish forces which had followed up the retreat. At FORT KOSHEH they, with part of the 9th SUDANESE, held out for a month against 7,000 of these fanatical savages and, in memory of their successful partnership, the Camerons presented them with a Colour and some sets of pipes. When the 9th Sudanese were disbanded, in 1930, the Colour was returned and remains as an interesting relic.

After Gordon's death there was a public outcry at home, and General Graham was sent again to Suakin, with a force which included a Guards' Brigade, and the SCOTS GUARDS took part in a difficult rearguard action at HASHEEN. Then, after a successful battle at GINNIS (the last action in which red coats were worn) a war-scare which concerned Russia and Afghanistan provided a reason for abandoning the Sudan, (The SCOTS GUARDS received the first khaki uniforms ever worn by them in May 1885.)

While the Guards Brigade was in Africa, other regiments, among them the 2nd ARGYLL & SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS, provided the 'duties' at Windsor Castle, and from 1885 to 1887 the ROYAL SCOTS

PLATE VII

Left to right

1895
The 5th Regiment, Royal Scots of Canada (BW of Canada)
Private

1890
The Forfar Light Horse (Volunteers)
Officer (patrol jacket)

1897
The Cape Town Highlanders
Corporal

1898
The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, the Duke of Albany's)
Private, Sudan (service dress)

1880
The Border Mounted Rifles (Volunteers)
Corporal

1890
The King's Own Scottish Borderers
Private (marching order)

1897
The 7th Middlesex (London Scottish) Rifle Volunteers
Drum-Major

1899
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders
Field Officer (blue frock)

PLATE VII

Figures A & B

FUSILIERS were engaged in a jungle war in BURMAH, which was known as 'the subalterns' war', as it consisted mainly of bandit-hunting by small, independent units. In 1889 both battalions of the SCOTS GUARDS paraded at Windsor Castle, to receive their first State Colour from Queen Victoria. (The State Colour measures 5 ft. 10 in. by 5 ft. 1 in.—much larger than the others—and is carried only by Guards of Honour, when the Sovereign (or, if a king, his queen) or the Queen Mother is present.)

The SUDAN came into the news again in 1898, after years of cruel tyranny under the Mahdi and his successor, the Khalifa, and this time there was no half-hearted nonsense about it. Kitchener's years of hard work and thoroughness had resulted in his being appointed Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, and he was now in command of a mixed force of 22,000 in which were the SEAFORTH and the CAMERON HIGHLANDERS. This time all were dressed in khaki drill, and Lee Metford magazine rifles and Maxim Guns, firing smokeless 'cordite', were a very different proposition for the enemy, from Martinis and Gatlings. Kitchener made a slow and methodical advance, bringing his rail-head forward at each stage, and fought the first battle at the ATBARA RIVER, against an enemy force from Khartum which was menacing his flank.

The Highlanders made their bayonet charge, with pipes skirling as of old, and, in addition to the ordinary hazards of battle, they had to tear their way through a very wide 'zareba' of thorny mimosa, but there is no record of anyone saying that the kilt was an unsuitable garb! The undemonstrative Kitchener told them that their part in the battle had been 'one of the finest feats performed for many years'.

OMDURMAN was a demonstration of the effectiveness of the new weapons, and it was the last time the British force stood in line, shoulder to shoulder, to meet massed attacks. About 60,000 dervishes attacked across the open, dressed in dirty white, patched with brighter colours (the patches were a sort of uniform), led by Mussulman priests and standard-bearers and, though no one could say they were not brave, they never got within about five hundred yards. They were simply mown down in heaps and only came near any success on two occasions—when they made an unexpected rush from cover, on the flank of Hector MacDonald's brigade, and when the 21st Lancers came suddenly on a mass of them, in a ravine, but each time they were defeated.

Barbarous and primitive as they were, their leaders set an example to all the 'Napoleons', 'Kaisers', 'Mussolinis', and even our own 'Pretenders', by rallying round the Khalifa's great black flag, when all was lost, and meeting their death like soldiers and gentlemen. The Khalifa himself, however, was true to type, and fled, but was

killed later. After entering Khartum, a big church parade was held at the ruins of Gordon's house, and the pipers of the SEAFORTH and CAMERONS played a lament for him. (The latter was the only regiment present which had taken part in the Egyptian and Sudan campaigns of the 1880's.)

The Sudan, now freed from tyranny, and under mainly British administration, gradually acquired peace and prosperity, and made great progress. But in 1953, all these years of effort had to be jeopardized by a so-called election, where naked jungle-men voted for pictures of chickens and elephants.

While the 1st SEAFORTHS and the CAMERONS were marching and fighting in African deserts, other Scottish regiments—1/RSF, KOSB, 2/SEAFORTH and 1/GORDONS—were on service against an enemy of the same faith and with the similarities that included the important military position of the Mullahs, fanatical hatred of the infidels, standards adorned with texts from the Koran, and so forth. But their environment was different and they had a higher standard of intelligence, which caused them to behave rather differently, though they were quite equal to the Sudanese in barbarity.

These were the Afridis, the Mohmands, the Zakka Khels, the Orakzais, the Yusufzais, and other tribes of the NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA, whose methods of life showed certain parallels with Scotland in the early centuries. They lived in a country of rugged mountains where the only routes of communication were along the river beds, and much of it was barren rock. There was an almost constant state of inter-clan warfare, and private feuds resulting in rifle and knife contests lasting over generations were a normal part of their system. Because of the poverty of their country, raiding and robbery with incidental murder were quite honourable methods of earning a living, and many joined the Indian Army, where they gave good service and—equally important—learned improved methods of warfare. At the peace 'jirgahs' (meetings) it was nothing unusual for the tribal chiefs to be wearing British medals.

The operations of 1897–8 were the largest of several expeditions about that time, and were undertaken for the usual reasons—frequent attacks on Frontier posts, shooting-up of escorts, and generally insulting behaviour; and covered a large area beyond the Khaiber and Malakhand passes. About 12,000 British and over 20,000 Indian troops were involved, and had a strenuous time, marching on stony tracks, fording waist-deep, fast-flowing rivers, sometimes in great heat, sometimes in 20 deg. of frost, constantly picqueting lofty crags while the main bodies moved through cavernous 'tangis' (narrows), and driving the enemy off mountain-tops. Incidentally spates provided one of the hazards of these marches as, after a rainstorm in the hills, frequently a wave of water

six or seven feet high would come rushing down the rock-bound river beds with force sufficient to carry away camels, mules, guns, and bridges if any existed.

There were about 50,000 of these Pathans actively engaged, but they were seldom seen, as their usual tactics consisted of lying very low, at which they were experts, and watching for an opportunity. If they could catch a picquet or a small party unaware, no time would be lost in rushing in with knives and then disappearing again, leaving only bodies, stripped of every bit of clothing and equipment and probably obscenely mutilated. They would hang round a rearguard and spend every night sniping the camps, but they had a cunning eye for business, and they were learning that a stand-up fight against regular troops was not likely to be profitable. Their extreme mobility and complete freedom from impedimenta, plus the fact that they were well supplied with long-range rifles, made them a problem, but before the end of the operations, troops had visited practically every village, burned those where snipers lurked, and generally taught them that it paid best not to interfere with the Sirkar's frontier arrangements.

Occasionally the tribesmen would still attack in masses, but more often they occupied hill-top positions, firing from well-sited 'sangars' (parapets of loose stones), in the hope of inflicting many casualties and then vanishing at speed down the reverse slopes, at the last moment.

It was in one such action, at DARGAI, the 1st GORDONS gained considerable fame. The enemy had to be cleared from some hills and it meant hours of climbing up gullies and crags and, in some cases, almost scaling cliffs to get there. The DORSETS and the 2nd GURKHAS were in the front line, and moving up by tortuous routes eventually reached the high plateau held by the enemy. Shelling by the pack batteries had no effect, as the tribesmen had complete shelter among rocks, and as there was a long up-hill stretch devoid of cover in front of their position, they just sat tight and whenever any troops tried to advance, opened such a destructive fire that they were forced to go to ground. Some Gurkhas got as far as a shallow bank about half-way across the open and then, for about three hours, no further advance could be made. The GORDONS and the 3rd SIKHS who had followed up in support, were ordered forward, and Colonel Mathias made a 'speech' which exactly fitted the occasion—'The General says this hill must be taken at all costs—the Gordon Highlanders will take it'. It was another case of 'Bring on the tartan', and the Highlanders went forward with a rush, across the bullet-swept open ground. Perhaps it was just that extra amount of dash and ferocity in a Highland charge, known on many battlefields, but nothing stopped the GORDONS. They went on up to the enemy's

position, leaving 46 officers and men on the ground. The other troops joined in, and as the bayonet points were lowered for action the enemy performed their familiar vanishing act.

The GORDON's colonel was recommended for a V.C., and the War Office decided that senior officers were not eligible, but Piper Findlater, who continued playing after being shot through both ankles, and Private Lawson, were awarded crosses, and congratulatory telegrams came from all parts of the world. One of the pipers present was James Fraser, who later became Pipe-Major of the 48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA, and retired in 1951, aged 79.

After the action was over the GORDONS carried the wounded DORSETS and GURKHAS down the rocky tracks and gullies, as there were no stretcher-bearers available, and as they came near the bare and sun-parched bivouac site, the troops in camp came out and gave them a cheer, pressing forward to offer their water-bottles. That may not sound important, but water was strictly rationed, and the thirst raised by such work in that climate has to be experienced to be believed, so it meant a great deal to the giver and the receiver. After the first attack on Dargai on the preceding day, the KOSB (who were in action twenty-three times), had gone out a mile from camp to meet the GORDONS with water, the latter being the rearguard and so the last to return. In this campaign it was the GORDONS who got the limelight, but all the regiments had a long period of similarly exacting work and, when it was ended, most of them returned to Indian stations.

In those days there were between 80,000 and 90,000 British troops in India, and it was a soldier's country, in fact it was the British Army's own country, and was visited periodically by all regiments except the GUARDS and the HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY, which never served there. It was probably the most interesting part of Asia, and the most varied in race and tradition, filled with the glaring contrasts of the East—glamour and tragedy, fabulous riches and squalid poverty, callous cruelty and selfless loyalty, fantastic palaces among mud hovels. No one who served there will ever forget the flaming orange of the frontier hills at dawn, or the golden-lilac mist of a Punjab sunset, nor even the wonders of an iced drink after hours in the merciless sunshine, where 'mad dogs and Englishmen' disported themselves, while sensible people took a siesta.

It was *the* country for sport of every kind—shooting, fishing, boating, hunting, racing, polo, mountaineering; and football, hockey, cricket, tennis, and golf were played all the year round. It was a gentleman's life, even for the private soldier, who had servants to do all the menial work; and most things were cheap. The Army was the most respected profession, and British and Indian regiments lived as near neighbours, in stations where all the old traditions of

the army were kept up, and vied with one another in efficiency competitions, as well as games.

There was scope for the largest exercises almost anywhere, and, on the Frontier, training had always a background of reality, as the tribesmen were usually lurking somewhere, and it did not need a declaration of war for them to sieze the opportunity, if the behaviour of a picquet fell below standard. British regiments went to hill-stations in the 'hot weather', and the amazing variety of scenery, as they travelled about this great continent, was always filled with novelty. Needless to say, Scottish hospitality in the widespread cantonments was well up to standard. Whisky was duty-free and there was plenty of unorthodox sport on guest nights—'bear-hunting' and 'pig-sticking' in the Mess, midnight steeplechases, and so forth. The pipers and bandsmen had all the practice they wanted and were honorary instructors to many keen pupils from the Indian regiments. Now that the Army's two centuries of life in India are ended, something has gone which can never be replaced. But against this the Indians have their own country, and it may reasonably be hoped that the British soldier will go down in their history, not only as a conqueror, but also as a friendly, fair-minded type, if tough at times, who brought some good to the country.

In 1898 the 1st GORDONS went home, and on the way they had one of those meetings which may not happen once in a century. As their train ran into Deolali station they could see the 2nd battalion (just out) drawn up on parade in gleaming white helmets and tunics, in honour of their arrival, and as they detrained the pipes played 'Cock o' the North'—the tune the pipers of the 1st played at Dargai (which became the regimental march in 1932). They were allowed eight hours together, during which there were many happy reunions and much hilarity, and then they went their separate ways. As it happened, they were to meet again quite soon, thousands of miles from Deolali.

About this time the prelude to the 'Armageddon' period was striking up, and the 'composer' was a grey-whiskered Dutchman with an old top hat. Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal, was typical of the back-veldt Boers of those days—something of a 'covenanter' type, sternly religious, resentful of progress, or interference of any kind from anyone, and fully convinced that no one else's methods could be right. He was one of those who held such a narrowly nationalist outlook as to be unable to see the obvious necessity for all Europeans in Africa to work together, and ever since 1881, when the home government so basely deserted the British colonists, big ideas had been forming in his mind.

From 1886, when the Witwatersrand began to reveal its fabulous treasures, many Europeans, mostly British, came in to exploit them,

providing a rich source of taxation, and Kruger regarded these 'uitlanders' as 'sheep for the shearing', who should on no account have any voice in Government—they might have out-voted his people and thus have secured equal rights.

There is usually something to be said on both sides in a quarrel, and obviously Kruger's fondness for the British was not improved by the fact that, for about fifteen years, he was thwarted at every attempt he made to acquire more territory from the natives. The man who became his *bête noire* mainly as a result of his own non-co-operation, was Cecil John Rhodes, a keen and farsighted Empire builder, who founded the British South Africa Company. He gradually acquired a vast area to the north of the Transvaal but, though he encouraged Boer settlers, he prevented them from taking actual possession of Zululand, Bechuanaland, and Mashonaland. He dealt severely with the Matabele—a people formed from a Zulu 'impi' which had deserted to escape a mass execution ordered by the great chief, Tshaka, for not complying with an order, and who had established a rule of murder and robbery among the Mashonas. He founded the town of Salisbury and another near Buluwayo ('The Place of Slaughter') and, in 1895, the great Northern Territories were named after him. Two of our Scottish regiments—the CAPE TOWN HIGHLANDERS and the FIRST CITY VOLUNTEERS—had a hand in some of these proceedings and were granted respectively the battle honours 'BECHUANALAND, 1897', and 'LANGEBERG, 1896–7'.

In 1895 the discontent of the 'Uitlanders' had reached such a pitch that a Scottish doctor, Leander Starr JAMESON, appointed by Rhodes to administer Mashonaland, behaved somewhat rashly, by entering the Transvaal with a small armed force, thinking they would all come out to join him and expel Kruger's government.

The collapse of this attempt only increased Kruger's confidence, and he intensified his victimization of the non-Boer population, began buying arms from Germany and other countries and, on the 9th October 1899, when a few British reinforcements were being sent to the Cape and Natal, he issued an insulting ultimatum. President Steyn brought the Orange Free State in to join the Transvaal, and once again a European civil war began in Africa.

In the first stage (after the battles of TALANA HILL, and ELANDSLAAGTE where the GORDONS lost fourteen officers and won two V.C.'s), the position of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking became similar to that of Cawnpore and Lucknow in 1857. The largest battles were fought by the columns under Buller (C.-in-C.), Methuen, and French, which went to their relief, and Gatacre, whose object was to drive the Free State Boers back out of the Cape Colony. A glance at a map will show how the Boers missed their opportunity (as it was intended they should) by yielding to the temptation to

mop up the garrisons in these towns, instead of making a dash for Durban or the Cape, or both, while they had great superiority in numbers. But they soon showed what they could do in the field.

All the Scottish regular regiments sent at least one battalion to South Africa, and some were there right from the beginning. The GORDONS, who ran a dead heat with the DUBLIN FUSILIERS for being in more engagements throughout the war than any other regiment were again in action in the early stages, at LOMBARD'S KOP, outside LADYSMITH. This was the 2nd battalion commanded by Dick-Cunningham, which then took part in the defence, under Sir George White (a former Gordon officer), lasting about four months, and did some excellent work during the fighting at WAGON HILL. There they were under the command of Major-General Sir Ian Hamilton (another Gordon officer).

The SCOTS GUARDS were in Lord Methuen's column,[1] at first about 8,000 strong, advancing to relieve KIMBERLEY, and lost about 50 men in one of the successful preliminary encounters at BELMONT. The next action was at ENSLIN, followed by a bigger one at MODDER RIVER, where the ARGYLL & SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS lost 114 men, and the HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY were also present.

This was in November—the equivalent of May in the Northern hemisphere—and the columns moved over a dry hard-baked veldt raising clouds of dust which the Boers could see many miles away. Methuen's idea was to clear the enemy from his flank—he thought there were only a hundred or two of them—before moving on to Jacobsdal, on the way to Kimberley. Two brigades—the 9th, in which were the A & SH, who had arrived on the previous day, and the GUARDS, with three field batteries, some naval guns and some cavalry, formed the seemingly ample force allotted for the task. It was expected that the enemy would retire in face of this display, and the troops were to halt at the river for breakfast, but they had to go hungry for a long time.

The Boer Commandant, Kronje, watched their columns advancing and deploying into extended lines, covering a front of about three miles, from a week-end river hotel and, no doubt, rubbed his hands with gloating anticipation. As the successive lines moved on and the field batteries unlimbered in open ground, nothing was to be seen, by them, except the normal brownish-coloured South African landscape—rolling veldt, broken by high ant-hills and a few clumps of mimosa and prickly pear, with the usual background of rugged kopjes and a strip of bush marking the river bed.

The GUARDS, on the right, came to within about 700 yards of the river when suddenly the peaceful silence was split by a blaze of continuous rifle-fire from their right and front, but still no enemy

[1] Field Marshal Lord Methuen served in the Scots Guards 1864–88, and was Colonel 1904–32.

was visible, no smoke, and nothing but the sound, to indicate their position. Many men were hit, but the Boers could have done better had they held their fire for another 300 yards. The troops lay down and, with their bayonets, scooped up little mounds for cover.

With some further advances, the situation became really difficult. It was found that they were inside a horseshoe bend of the river, roughly three miles wide, with about 3,000 Boers concealed all along its bank; not only riflemen, but guns and pom-poms as well. The forward lines were now under continuous and very accurate fire, and it was not a nice feeling being flattened to the ground with the certainty of bullets 'cracking' within inches every time a man brought his rifle to his shoulder or moved a hand or foot, especially when he could see no enemy to shoot at.

Various diversions were made, during one of which every man of the SCOTS GUARDS machine-gun detachment was hit, and some of the 9th Brigade, including a company of A & SH, crossed the river by a dam on the extreme left. But finally, after dark, and having incurred nearly 500 casualties, Methuen retired the whole force. The Boers felt just the same and they retired too, having actually suffered very little, as they had complete cover in the river bed, where they could move about as they chose.

Shortly after this General Wauchope arrived, with the 2nd BLACK WATCH (his own regiment) and 2nd SEAFORTH, and these were brigaded with the 1st ARGYLL & SUTHERLANDS and the 1st HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY. The 1st GORDONS arrived later one fateful evening, when the brigade was about to move out of camp in a tropical thunderstorm, to carry out a night march and a dawn attack on MAGERSFONTEIN HILL. The story is too well known and too painful to go into details—how this fine brigade was almost destroyed by being riddled by short-range rifle fire during a too late deployment from quarter-column, and then lying from 4 a.m. until 2.30 p.m. under a blazing sun, pinned down in the open by continuous fire.

The Highlanders made several 'forlorn hope' attacks, with local successes, but the brigade was unable to move. The GORDONS were sent up later, to help to extricate them, and made courageous rushes through the storms of bullets, but they had been given an impracticable task. The GUARDS, too, came into it, but it all ended in a complete failure, General Wauchope was killed and the Highland Brigade alone, and excluding the Gordons, lost 46 officers and 706 men, killed and wounded. Afterwards Hector Macdonald (an old Gordon, last mentioned at Omdurman) was sent to command the brigade.

A few days before, General Gatacre had been repulsed at STORMBERG, and the day after, Buller had a first-class defeat at COLENSO, a bigger and worse edition of Modder River, in which the 2nd

CAMERONIANS took part, and the 2nd ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS was escort to the guns and won a V.C. in trying to save them. This spell became known as 'black week', and it produced an alarming situation in which it appeared that untrained and undisciplined bands of farmers could almost do what they liked with the British Army.

In fact the Army was in no way prepared for this type of warfare. For nearly fifty years it had fought mainly in lines and squares, against Indians, Zulus, Sudanese and the like, whose normal method was to attack in solid masses. Here it was almost like fighting a 'ghost' enemy, who could do tremendous execution, without appearing on the scene, and who generally left the British to expose themselves by doing the attacking. Not only were the men at a loss, but the Generals were, to say the least, inexpert at controlling widely extended forces. Their intelligence system, and their methods of communication were bad, and if their plans went wrong, they seemed to be thrown into a flat spin. Even at Colenso there was one Brigadier who frankly disbelieved in extended order, and most of them preferred frontal attacks to outflanking movements.

Actually Meinheer Kruger, very indirectly, and without the smallest intention, was doing the Empire a service and, at the end of his tuition, not only was the Army well ahead of foreign armies, but he had also stirred up all the Dominions and given their forces the same opportunities. Right at the beginning they sent contingents, but after 'black week' a fresh wave of patriotic determination spread through the whole Empire, and the war was, in effect, a splendid rehearsal for future troubles.

In those days no one felt embarrassed about waving flags and singing slightly fulsome patriotic songs, and when troops left Edinburgh, Southampton, Tilbury, Quebec, Montreal, or Sydney, the towns and the ships were smothered in bunting, and huge crowds, many of whom had travelled hundreds of miles, saw them off with terrific spontaneous demonstrations. Enthusiasm mounted even higher than it might have, owing to the triumphant and insulting glee of nearly all the European nations, at our series of disasters. They showed the same spirit as animals which trample or impale an injured member of the herd; and many people believed that it was only the strength of the Navy which prevented Britain being attacked.

Soon reinforcements poured into the Cape and Natal. Regulars, Militia, Volunteers, Colonials, of course including many Scots. In the Dominions it was unusual to send existing regiments as units, but volunteers from them were formed into special Service Battalions, Batteries, &c. For instance the 48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA were only allowed a quota of 25 of all ranks, the 5th ROYAL SCOTS OF CANADA, and the 59th STORMONT AND GLENGARRY REGIMENT and all

the others, sent various numbers of volunteers to service units.

Some of these units were the first to be armed with the Ross rifle which, owing to inability to obtain supplies of British rifles, was adopted in 1900, as the standard weapon of the Canadian infantry, and was manufactured in Quebec. STRATHCONA'S HORSE was specially raised at the personal expense of Lord Strathcona.

Australia and New Zealand sent their contingents, and in all about 30,000 came from these three Dominions. South African loyalists provided over 50,000 men, among which were the following regiments with Scottish connections—the FIRST CITY, the CAPE TOWN HIGHLANDERS, the QUEENSTOWN RIFLE VOLUNTEERS, the DUKE OF EDINBURGH'S OWN VOLUNTEER RIFLES, PRINCE ALFRED'S VOLUNTEER GUARD, the KIMBERLEY REGIMENT, the KAFFRARIAN RIFLES, the DURBAN LIGHT INFANTRY, and the SCOTTISH HORSE. The appendix shows that battle honours for this war are borne by many Scottish units throughout the Dominions, including four out of the five existing AUSTRALIAN SCOTTISH units.

All told, about 450,000 troops were used to deal with about 90,000 Boers, a five-to-one majority. But as guerillas these men had many advantages. They knew the country, and had no uniform, which enabled them to disband at any time, to avoid capture, and re-assemble later. They all had experience of stalking game and, on an average, were far better shots than the soldiers. They had very little discipline and consequently few restrictions on their movements, which meant that if a man felt things were getting too hot for him, he did not necessarily stay to get killed, like a regular soldier, but might decide to visit some friends in another Commando, and return later. This had its disadvantages too, as a Commandant who meant to stick it out might find at a critical moment that he had almost become a one man army. (Many of their 'tactical withdrawals' were due to the fact that they had no bayonets.)

But probably the greatest problem of all was their mobility. Practically every man had some kind of horse, and a pack animal for his kit, so a Commando could move quickly and without transport vehicles, and there were plenty of Dutchmen still farming who would help out the commissariat, if they saw their friends in need. Sometimes they were and, trekking over the mountains on freezing nights, in sodden clothes, and half starved, they envied the soldiers in their tents.

This mobility required an antidote in the form of more mounted troops, mounted infantry rather then cavalry, and here the Yeomanry came in. Members of all the six existing SCOTTISH YEOMANRY REGIMENTS joined war service units of the IMPERIAL YEOMANRY, and M.I. Companys formed from infantry regiments, were brigaded with them. Many of these came from the Highland Brigade. The

LOVAT SCOUTS—a specialist corps of scouts and snipers, composed of Scottish stalkers and gamekeepers—was raised by Lord Lovat, and earned high praise from Sir Archibald Hunter, and the SCOTTISH HORSE—a smart yeomanry corps, recruited by the Caledonian Society of Johannesburg in 1900—also became renowned. The infantry VOLUNTEERS formed service units, to reinforce the regular battalions and, as one instance, three companies of Volunteers, at different times, joined the SEAFORTH. The LONDON SCOTTISH and the LIVERPOOL SCOTTISH sent a number of men and each has a battle honour for South Africa.

After 'black week' Buller made another effort to get to Ladysmith and sent Sir Charles Warren across the Tugela to sieze SPION KOP (Spy Hill) an important feature in the centre of the Boer defensive system north of the river. If this were taken, the whole position would fall, and he would be able to advance on the camps and laagers of the Boers besieging Ladysmith, which lay less than twenty miles away.

It was a big-scale attack and for some days troops were crossing the river and driving the Boers off various spurs and heights on the north side. A large amount of artillery was in action, and Lyddite shells made great clouds of dust and greenish-yellow smoke among the hills, while above the Boer positions, puffs of white showed the bursting of shrapnel. The Boers, considerably alarmed, sent out a call for volunteers from all the commandos and, according to one of them, there were about 12,000 in action in the neighbourhood.

British troops ascended Spion Kop at night and drove off a Boer picquet. They did some entrenching (not very successfully), but the hilltop was about two miles long and in the darkness was not properly reconnoitred. In the early morning some Boers climbed up and hid among rocks and prickly pear on a knoll, whence their enfilade fire was so effective that 70 men in one trench were shot through the right side of the head. (Traverses do not appear to have been used in these rudimentary trenches.)

When daylight came their guns shelled the hill, and about 800 or 900 of them attacked and with considerable loss, got up to a fringe of rocks running round the edge of the plateau which formed the main summit. Here the two sides lay, flattened behind any available bit of cover, and so near that they could overhear each other's conversations. On the Boer side, if a man made the slightest movement, bullets cracked over, or into him. The British had their 'schans' or parapet and were not so exposed in front, but as stated, were also under enfilade fire, and reinforcements, including the 2nd CAMERONIANS, had come up, so that men were crowded together, with shells pitching in and blowing them to pieces, while for some unknown reason the British artillery had ceased to shell the

Boers. There were several spirited charges by small parties from both sides and the Boers behaved very bravely, and engaged in hand-to-hand fighting—butt-end against bayonet. The worst part was when about 160 British, without officers, surrendered and went down the hill.

Many officers were killed, there was much confusion as to who was in command, and messages from the rear did nothing to clarify the general situation. From the hill, thousands of troops could be seen just waiting, like Mr. Micawber, and one would think that an attack on the Boer's rear would have been far more effective than crowding more men into the shambles on the top.

After dark on the second night, when the British had suffered about a thousand casualties, a retirement was ordered without authority from Sir C. Warren, the CAMERONIANS acting as rearguard. The Boers had suffered badly too, and most of them had filtered away to the rear. So they also retired, but next morning they were the first to discover that the hill was deserted, and they reoccupied it.

This was typical of the early operations. Usually, once a force was well involved in an action, chaos seems to have enveloped the staff, with resulting indecision, which had a bad effect on everyone. There were also too many surrenders, sometimes of quite large numbers, and soldiers began to lose their normal confidence. Then Lord Roberts arrived, superseding Buller as C.-in-C., with Kitchener as his chief of staff, and apart from his unquestioned ability and his cheerful and inspiring personality, there may have been something in the fact that most of his service had been among the hills and the invisible snipers of the Indian frontier. In any case, right from his arrival, a big change came over the scene. He by-passed Kronje, still at Magersfontein, and sent French, with the cavalry division in which were the GREYS, to make his famous dash through the Boer positions, to KIMBERLEY, which was relieved on the 15th February 1900.

The forced march to Kimberley took five days and included a four-mile gallop, under fire, by the whole division, in order to by-pass Boers in position on the hills. Horses were ruthlessly sacrificed to achieve the object, and the horse casualties of the GREYS in 1900 amounted to a total of 1625, of which 159 'died of exhaustion'. (Mechanization has at least put an end to that.) Their total casualties in killed and wounded, during the war, were 11 officers and 149 other ranks, and in horses, over 4,500, which were the result of a great amount of marching, with no large actions but many small, sharp clashes. Another sign of Empire co-operation was the attachment to their brigade (which also included the CARABINIERS and some of the INNISKILLINGS) of a squadron of the NEW SOUTH WALES LANCERS.

A day or two after the relief of Kimberley, French's cavalry caught Kronje trying to move away, pinned him down in the bed of the Modder River at PAARDEBERG until two infantry divisions came up. There he withstood a siege and heavy bombardment for ten days and, owing to their skill in constructing cover, the Boers' casualties were light. A large number of Scottish soldiers were in this battle—GREYS, KOSB, BW, SEAFORTH, GORDONS, A & SH, and the CAPE TOWN HIGHLANDERS. The GORDONS and the CANADIANS were foremost in the final assault, which took place on Majuba day, 27th February, 1900, and resulted in the surrender of Kronje and 4,000 men. But again the British had to attack across open ground, and had many casualties. Events followed quickly. Buller, still trying, after another defeat at VAALKRANZ, pushed on to Ladysmith, fighting half a dozen tough small actions on the way, in which the ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS and the CAMERONIANS took part, and Dundonald's cavalry led the way in on the 28th February.

Bloemfontein was taken, then the siege of MAFEKING was raised. Johannesburg and Pretoria surrendered and, in May 1900, Paul Kruger, whose kit was reputed to contain several boxes of good Rand gold, followed the usual course of unsuccessful rebel leaders and got out, via Delagoa Bay.

But the Boers had still some first-class guerilla leaders, among them Botha, Smuts, De Wet, and De La Rey, who played 'hide-and-seek' up and down the country, frequently damaging the Cape Town–Pretoria railway, which was the main British supply line. This made it necessary to shut off large areas with lines of block-houses and wire, while troops beat the 'coverts' thus enclosed until they were eventually rounded up.

There was much hard work and occasional fighting, alternating with dull but watchful periods garrisoning the blockhouses.

The 1ST CAMERONS, who came from Cairo, after 'black week', took part, with the Highland Brigade, in an operation which succeeded in corraling a Free State force under Prinzloo, in the mountains on the Basutoland border, and fought an action at RETIEFS NEK where they captured another 4,000 Boers. Apart from this, they marched over 3,000 miles, and took part in a number of small actions, a rôle similar to that of many regiments, including the ROYAL SCOTS and the KOSB. Sir Archibald Hunter later described the 1ST CAMERONS as 'one of the best battalions . . . in the service of the King, or any other king.'

The war ended in May 1902, and soon afterwards Botha, De La Rey, and De Wet were received in London by enthusiastic crowds, passing under banners inscribed 'Our Friend the Enemy' and 'Brave Soldiers All'. Queer people the British! But how much better it would be now if all concerned could have behaved like that!

CHAPTER X · 1903-18

WORLD WAR I.
SCOTTISH REGIMENTS OF THE EMPIRE

The Boer War, like the Crimea, had shown up many weak spots and the Army underwent another overhaul. In 1904 the C.-in-C. at the Horse Guards was replaced by the Army Council and, from the top downwards, the whole structure was carefully checked over and improved where necessary. Training, weapons, and equipment all received attention, and in 1908 the Regular infantry regiments were issued with the excellent short Lee Enfield rifle and a well-designed webbing equipment. In 1907 the MILITIA became the SPECIAL RESERVE, whose function, from then, was solely to provide reinforcements for the regular battalions, and in 1908 the VOLUNTEERS (of whom there were then over 51,000 in Scotland) were reorganized as the Territorial Force. Their equipment was modernized and they were more closely associated with the Regulars, but they could not be ordered overseas, unless they first volunteered to go.

By about 1911 it became clear that Kaiser Wilhelm II was hoping soon to outdo Napoleon's efforts of a century before, and coinciding with this realization, there was a great deal of reorganization among the Dominion forces. (From 1700 to 1900 the most important wars occurred fairly regularly at the beginning, or end, and at the middle of each century, but the increasing speed of the twentieth century seems to be bringing them closer together.) In 1911 the NEW ZEALAND TERRITORIAL FORCE was formed, and in 1912 UNIVERSAL TRAINING was introduced in both AUSTRALIA and SOUTH AFRICA. In Australia the reforms included a reorganization of the basis of battalion areas, and in South Africa the Active Citizen Force replaced the Volunteers. Scotland was well represented in all the Dominions, and Scottish units were on the increase. On the other hand, a few of the smaller units, like the Highland Companies in New Zealand, disappeared as a result of the changes, but most of them were reincarnated later in some other form.

Dominion units were now becoming associated with the Regular Scottish regiments and, as one example, in 1911 Lieut.-Colonel

Thomson, of the 79th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA (which was later granted the title of the QUEEN'S OWN CAMERON HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA) sent over a company at his own expense, to take part in the Coronation procession. This company made history for the Dominion forces by becoming, temporarily, No. 9 Company of the 1st Q.O. CAMERON HIGHLANDERS, and was in barracks with the regiment at Aldershot and took part with it in all the ceremonies held in London during Coronation week. On their departure they were congratulated on their efficiency and smartness, and the officers of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th battalions presented them with a handsome Pipe-Major's banner.

For a few years longer peacetime routine continued, with its regular trooping seasons, and the annual training programme, which ended with the big autumn manoeuvres, and was followed by a good spell of leave. Apart from this, sports figured largely, and the many inter-regimental tournaments and competitions, and much hospitality, filled a pleasant and interesting life. Incidentally, these were the last years of the big full-dress reviews at Aldershot and elsewhere, which provided such colourful scenes.

Then, on 4th August 1914, 'the balloon went up', and a sudden change came over everything.

With the enormous highly-industrialized populations and the improved communications of the twentieth century, the Kaiser War became so gigantic that it is quite out of the question to follow the movements of all the Scottish regiments, with the multiplication of their battalions which became necessary. During those four years some regiments grew to the size of two or three divisions. The Royal Scots, for instance, expanded to 35 battalions, in which over 100,000 of all ranks served, and its casualties amounted to 11,162 killed and over 40,000 wounded.

At the beginning the Regulars, far too few of them, were practically the only troops available, and were rushed across the Channel to aid the French in resisting the massive invasion which was moving steadily towards Paris. The 'British Expeditionary Force', consisting of only four divisions (soon reinforced by three more), included the GREYS, 1st SCOTS GUARDS, 2nd ROYAL SCOTS, 1st and 2nd ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS, 2nd KOSB, 1st CAMERONIANS, 2nd HLI, 1st BLACK WATCH, 2nd SEAFORTH, 1st GORDONS, 1st CAMERONS, and 2nd A & SH (the first B.E.F. unit to land in France). Thus all the Scottish regular regiments were represented in this small but famous army, which, as regards individual training, discipline, toughness and equipment, was the best that had ever left Britain.

The experiences of these regiments in the early stages of the war must all have had a considerable degree of similarity, beginning with telegrams recalling those on leave and summoning hundreds

of reservists to report at their home station. This was immediately followed by the orderly turmoil of fitting-out the regiment down to the last bootlace, handing in full dress and all unnecessary articles, innoculation parades and so forth, while civilians came crowding at the gates to enlist. There was an atmosphere of high adventure and anticipation, and when newspapers arrived (no wireless news then) there was a rush to scan them, and much airing of unreliable opinions, arguments as to whether it would be all over by Xmas, and discussions about the Germans and the French and everything remotely connected with the immediate future. Then came the train journey, the Channel crossing, and an excited and voluble welcome by the French, who were always specially intrigued by the Scottish regiments, and pressed bottles of wine, cigars and even kisses upon the men as they formed up on the quayside at Boulogne or Calais. Then came train journeys crowded in trucks marked 'Hommes–40; Chevaux–8', and some marching and billeting in pleasant and peaceful villages, bathing in streams, helping to hang out the washing, draw the water, &c., but with a growing feeling of the nearness of the Boche and of looming events.

They had their first contact near MONS, in Belgium, where they successfully beat off attacks of huge masses of infantry in 'field grey', and were severely pounded by artillery. The handy, accurate and well-balanced short rifle, plus the years of monotonous training with aiming disc and tripod, rapid loading with dummies, and range practices, gave wonderful confidence. The enemy were shot down in such numbers that their attacks usually broke up, leaving them bewildered and convinced that British troops were armed with automatic rifles. 'The Belgians did not do this to us', their officers complained, with indignant Hunnish pomposity, as if they thought no one had any right to dispute the advance of the German Army. But the Germans had inexhaustible numbers of fresh troops, which they seemed to regard as 'cannon fodder', and masses of artillery. So, after holding on for the time agreed between Sir John French and General Joffre, and being nearly surrounded, a retreat became the only alternative to the total destruction of the B.E.F. At this point two squadrons of the GREYS distinguished themselves by holding up a strong German advance guard for four hours, while the infantry were sorting themselves out, and some of them, with some GORDONS, repeated the 'Scotland for Ever' incident of Waterloo on a smaller scale at St. Quentin.

The 'Jocks' in the ranks and even the officers knew little or nothing of what was going on in the surrounding country, and, of course, most of them saw nothing of the French armies on the flanks. All they knew was—'Marching, marching, marching, always b—— well marching' (sung to a hymn tune), and varied by 'Tipperary'

and the usual repertoire of ribaldry, with a few French words added. 'Mademoiselle from Armentieres', a lady of doubtful repute, with verses *ad lib*, soon became a favourite. The damnable *pavé* quickly blistered the feet, and they were held up by guns and wagons, and impeded by crowds of walking refugees, interspersed with little carts piled with bedding and pots and pans, with *Grandmère* and the chickens perched on the top.

There was a blazing heatwave, punctuated by violent thunderstorms, feet literally wore out, and when there was a halt, down they went in fours, asleep as they touched the ground.

In the CAMBRAI–LE CATEAU area they turned and gave battle, but only to secure an orderly retreat, as the pressure of enemy numbers was too great to allow any chance of holding on. Again they were nearly surrounded and just got clear, the 1st GORDONS losing all except one company. They marched day and night, and when halts were made for a few hours, sleep was curtailed by trench digging. Often half-cooked meals had to be hurriedly issued, when orders to move on were received. Frequently there was fighting for a period, and short moves in the right direction put new life into the exhausted men, but always more and more fresh German troops came up and the retreat had to continue. Through it all discipline remained excellent and though the conditions were as severe, there was none of the disorder of the Peninsular retreats of a hundred years earlier.

The distance covered, from Mons to an area dangerously near Paris, was about 150 miles, before the B.E.F. was given the order to face north-eastwards once again. Exhausted as they were, they drove the Germans back from the MARNE, and advanced to the AISNE, which they crossed, and then became involved in a long and indecisive battle. It was now the end of September and the hot weather had been succeeded by continuous rain and deep mud, both sides were worn out, and, apart from mutual outflanking attempts, which eventually prolonged the lines from Switzerland to the sea, more or less static conditions set in. At the end of October the B.E.F. was moved to the northern sector of the line, where they were to endure for a very long period.

Casualties had been very heavy and in many cases captains commanded regiments now consisting mainly of reinforcements from the Special Reserve, which had arrived during the fighting.

But they were not to have any rest, and trench fighting soon began. At the FIRST BATTLE OF YPRES, November 1914, the 7th Division was surrounded by six times its own numbers and practically destroyed. The 2nd SCOTS GUARDS, who killed large numbers of Prussian Guards at Nonnebosschen Wood, came out with a strength of one weak company, and the 2nd GORDONS and 2nd RSF were in much the same condition. This and battles at GIVENCHY

and NEUVE CHAPELLE, where the 2nd CAMERONIANS fought their way through uncut wire into the German trenches, and came back with 150 men, commanded by a subaltern, depleted these long-suffering battalions to the point where it could truthfully be said that the Regulars had practically been 'expended' in this first and most critical stage of the war. The Kaiser expected his masses to wipe out what he described as a 'contemptible little army' (a title which the survivors accepted with humorous appreciation), but, in the words of Fortescue, their work had been 'the grandest ever done, in every respect, by any British army'. In this way the old Army went down with its Colours flying, but its spirit lived on, to inspire the millions who, contrary to all their previous expectations, found themselves in khaki. Its regiments, made up to strength, remained in the line, and were brigaded with 'New Army' battalions when they arrived, but few of the original officers and men were left. It had gained a respite during which the greatest British Army ever put into the field was built up, and it remained the prototype and the backbone of the whole organization.

It was towards the end of 1914 that the 'part-time' or 'week-end' soldier, who had never been taken very seriously by civilians, began to come into their own. The first of these were, of course, the TERRITORIALS (the YEOMANRY was now a part of the T.F.), who practically all volunteered for service, and their first unit to go into action, at the end of October 1914, was the LONDON SCOTTISH. Each regiment had at least one Territorial battalion (which needed training after mobilization) and second- and third-line units were added, some of which acted as reinforcement depots for the first-line battalions when they were on service, and which later consisted largely of men who had recovered from wounds and were ready to be sent out again. Many of the T.F. and the Service Battalions had a sort of club atmosphere about them, as they were formed of men with similar interests or from one locality, e.g. 15th HLI formed from Glasgow Tramway men, 16th HLI, ex-members of the Boys' Brigade, &c., and the 4th CAMERONS had 500 Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. The 4th SEAFORTHS had many fierce-looking Highlanders, who were sent to Bedford for training. When asked where they came from they replied, 'Roos-sha' (Ross-shire) and were supposed thus to have been responsible for a rumour which went round, that Russian troops were arriving in England.

Close on the heels of the T.F., came the Dominion contingents, and here the work of the IMPERIAL GENERAL STAFF, which was set up a few years before the war and which had a branch in each of the Dominions, produced its results. In Canada, where another Militia Act, in 1904, had reorganized the forces, over 59,000 men had carried out their annual training in 1914. Even before the war

began the Canadian Government had offered a contingent, but these troops, like the T.F., needed further training, and enormous activity began immediately after the declaration of war. There was disappointment because whole units were not accepted, but were invited to send quotas to new CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE battalions, which were given C.E.F. numbers. Later regiments were permitted to send whole battalions, but these were also given C.E.F. numbers, e.g. the 42nd and 73rd CEF BATTALIONS, provided by the ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA, and the 72nd OVERSEAS BATTALION CEF (SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA). These numbers were obtained by special request and in some cases the name of the regiment did appear as a sort of sub-title.

The largest training centre was set up at Valcartier, on the Jacques Cartier River, about twenty miles from Quebec. In about three weeks this quiet, remote spot was turned into a camp which could accommodate 33,000 men, with roads, electricity, water, drains, telephones, and rifle ranges, and quite soon it was full of men training with the keenness of volunteers to fit themselves for service as quickly as possible. (Khaki was not then a general issue and many units arrived in scarlet or rifle green.) On 3rd October the 1st CANADIAN DIVISION sailed from Gaspé Basin, in an imposing fleet of thirty-three ships guarded by eight warships. (This was said to be the largest troop convoy which had ever sailed, up to that time.) Most of the Canadian Scots were in the 3rd Brigade which comprised the 13th BATTALION (ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA) from Montreal, 14th BATTALION, 15th BATTALION (48th REGIMENT (HIGHLANDERS)) from Toronto, and 16th BATTALION made up of drafts from the SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA, from Vancouver, the GORDON HIGHLANDERS (50th Regiment) from Victoria, the 79th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA, from Winnipeg, and the 91st CANADIAN HIGHLANDERS, from Hamilton. In this battalion (which was known as the CANADIAN SCOTTISH), apart from the number of Clans represented and the diversity of Canadian types, there were 850 men with previous service in 95 different units, including the Foreign Legion and the Chinese Army! By 1916 the Canadian Corps reached a strength of four divisions, which included many more Scottish units, but those in the 3rd Brigade remained together throughout the war.

After receiving an uproarious welcome at Plymouth, the 1st Canadian Division went by train to Salisbury Plain, where things were somewhat 'damping' for a time. Continuous rain and ankle-deep quagmires (in which they lived under canvas), though good training for their future activities, were to them less pleasant than below-zero weather in Canada, and, to add insult to injury, they were at first regarded as raw and ill-disciplined troops. Some were,

but at least they worked well for their own officers, even if they did not salute them, and keenness soon turned them into first-class soldiers.

While on The Plain, the Cameron company of the 16th Battalion caused some surprise by marching thirty-one miles to attend 'Kirk' in Salisbury, 'just to keep fit'—a good example of the war outlook of Canadian Scots.

They went through all the normal progressively strenuous training as scheduled for the service battalions of 'Kitchener's Army', and were reviewed by King George V, and by Lord Roberts, and Lord Kitchener. At these functions whole divisions, about 20,000 strong, including artillery, transport, and all the ancillary services paraded in one mass, forming a most impressive spectacle and giving a striking impression of the might of armed and equipped manpower. Of course, many men asked themselves what was the good of it, and could Kitchener or Roberts accomplish anything from this rather irksome performance? They probably did not realize that an experienced officer could read quite a lot about their general state of readiness, just from seeing them on parade. Even such details as the set of their bonnets, the expressions on their faces, the fitting of their equipment, the absence, or otherwise, of movement or whispering, and many other small points, gave him a far better insight than they knew. The division was found well up to standard and, by February 1915, it had taken its place in the procession across the Channel, which continued for four years.

Meanwhile similar activities had been proceeding in AUSTRALIA and NEW ZEALAND, whence the ANZAC CORPS was eventually built up to a strength of five divisions. The system of forming special battalions, &c., by amalgamating drafts of volunteers from the permanent units was the same in all the Dominions—probably the I.G.S. had agreed on it, and the troops did most of their training in their own countries. In Australia it was carried out under canvas 'in mud or dust, according to the season'. A considerable force of South African troops was employed in the German South-West Africa campaign, 1914–15, and in addition, the Union sent an infantry brigade and other units to France, the 4th SOUTH AFRICAN INFANTRY, in this brigade being a kilted regiment, known as the SOUTH AFRICAN SCOTTISH.

Quite naturally the discipline of regular soldiers did not come automatically to independent and self-reliant men from the prairies, the bush, and back-veldt. The Australians were sometimes too highspirited when off duty, and painted some of the towns they visited redder than was satisfactory to the succeeding troops, and here is a short story borrowed from H. C. Juta's book on the TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH. In German South-West Africa a subaltern, on

detachment, was told to go to hell by one of his men, who felt that too much was being expected of him. The subaltern, being more than somewhat inexperienced, rang up the Brigade-Major and laid the problem before him. The B-M's appropriate advice was, 'Don't go, my dear fellow, don't go!'

The FIRST CITY, the CAPE TOWN HIGHLANDERS, the WITWATERSRAND RIFLES and the TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH were concerned, early in the war, in dealing with disorders in the Union, and afterwards they all served in South-West Africa, where they dealt with a cunning and elusive German guerilla force and did some remarkable marches under tropical desert conditions with great scarcity of water. On their return in 1915, large numbers of their officers and men joined the SOUTH AFRICAN BRIGADE which went to France.

On the line which became known as the Western Front great changes had occurred since the Battle of the Aisne. The British troops continued to be known as the B.E.F. to the end, and their part of the front was in the rainy, flat, coal-mining and sugar-beet growing area, where an additional enemy, as neutral as Spencer Chapman's jungle, was encountered. This was the all-enveloping, glutinous, stinking mud, which frequently came above the knees, and never dried out except in summer, or during hard frosts. The whole line was in the grip of trench warfare, and in spite of a number of enormous and extremely bloody battles fought in the hope of reverting to a war of movement, the line remained not materially altered until 1918. This meant that an underground and, at times almost underwater, form of life had to be developed. Men lived like rats (and among thousands of them) in holes and warrens, for weeks at a time, and had to get down into communicating trenches labelled with such names as 'Canadian Avenue', 'Dud Alley', &c., often at a distance of half a mile or more from the front line. It was heavy work, having to tug several times at each step, to release the foot from the powerful suction of the clay—especially as each man carried approximately 80 lb. of equipment, plus sandbags full of this and that, and often a roll of barbed wire on a stake, or a similar benefaction, pressed upon them by the R.E.'s before they entered the trench labyrinth. The Highlanders felt sorry for the men with sodden trousers. They could hang their kilts round their necks for the journey to the front line and, alternatively, they had an ingenious method of making a sort of pilch out of a sandbag, into which the kilt could be stuffed, to keep it out of the mud.

Apart from the great battles which raged at intervals, it was a monotonous life, alternating from front line to brigade reserve—usually three or four days billeted in the cellars of a ruined village—back to the front line, then, after a month or so, to divisional reserve, which might mean billets in an inhabited town. The French carried on

PLATE VIII

Left to right

1907
The Kaffrarian Rifles, of South Africa
Rifleman ('F' Coy.)

1900
The Lanarkshire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry
Officer

1920
The Calcutta Scottish (Army Auxiliary Force, India)
Coy. Officer (Modified full dress—in full dress white helmets were worn)

1902
The Scottish Horse
Trooper (service dress)

1904
The 59th, Stormont and Glengarry Regiment, of Canada
(SD & G Hrs). *Private*)

1914
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders
Drummer

1914
Princess Louise's Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders
Sergeant (walking-out dress)

1914
The Royal Scots Fusiliers
Fusilier

1914
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles)
Rifleman

1914
The Royal Scots (Lothian Regiment)
Coy. Officer

1916
The 4th South African Infantry (South African Scottish)
Bugler (with springbok 'Nancy')

1912
The 13th Scottish Light Dragoons, of Canada
Sergeant (walking-out dress)

1946
The Witwatersrand Rifles, of South Africa
Officer (ceremonial dress)

1939
The 27th Battalion (The South Australian Scottish Regiment)
Officer (ceremonial dress)

1937
The Lovat Scouts (Yeomanry)
Trooper
Dress worn at the Coronation of H.M. King George VI. (Fraser hunting tartan)

PLATE VIII

Figures A, B & C

quite normally as near the line as they were allowed, and life seemed quite luxurious during these spells—a feeling which was enhanced by visits to pit-head baths and the concurrent attendance of mobile laundries and de-lousing engines.

In the line, life normally consisted of doing sentry on the firing step, fatigues for improving the trenches and trying to drain off some of the water and mud, sandbagging, repairing gaps made by shells, and so on, patrols and occasional raids.

The main features of a sentry's outlook were two borders of rusty barbed wire, separated by a strip—sometimes wide, sometimes narrowed to a few yards—pitted with craters half full of water, among which lay a miscellany of debris, often including the forlorn remains of men. Rank weeds sprouted over the churned-up ground and filthy rodents slunk among them. When darkness came, shadowy figures would lurk in this wilderness of 'No-man's land' and gory deeds would probably result. Beyond the furthest wire he knew that the apparently deserted stretch of old diggings concealed the beady eyes of other sentries, whose views on trench life were probably as profane as his own, and that below ground scores of 'Fritzes' ate and drank, played cards or slept.

At intervals a German machine-gunner would come to life and his gun would fire—bock-bock-bock—always traversing, with Teutonic precision, from left to right and back again.

Sniping and mortaring developed into highly-skilled trades on both sides, and conversely men developed the art of dodging 'Minnies' (minenwerfer) and rifle grenades, whose slow arcing flight could be watched from start to finish, and acquired a sort of extra sense which warned them of exposed spots and of telescopic sights being trained on them. But sometimes a 'Minnie' landed in a trench unexpectedly and the call for stretcher-bearers was passed along, or a sudden artillery 'strafe' would break out, and flying earth and sandbags and smoke would blot out the daylight, while deafening crashes and screaming fragments raised a hellish uproar.

As time went on, factories turned out guns by thousands, which were massed along the lines and became so well organized that a telephone message, giving a map-reference, was all that was needed to see any particular part of the enemy line apparently being churned into little heaps. But appearance was deceptive and, too often, troops going 'over the top' found the wire uncut and machine-guns being brought up from dugouts, to lace every inch of ground with bullets.

Field guns were still horse-drawn and sometimes the infantry could see the ammunition wagons coming up in daylight, pulling in behind the little sandbag houses which hid the guns, and off again quickly, hoping to get clear before they were spotted. Somewhere behind, the Cavalry Corps, in which were the GREYS, still tended their

horses hopefully, and infantry officers, from company commanders up, rode when out of trenches. Regimental transport comprised the old G.S. wagon, the limbered wagon and the Maltese cart, and the two Vickers guns were carried on mules. (Later these were replaced by more numerous Lewis guns, and were used by M.G. battalions.)

But mechanization was coming along. Aircraft at first were few and could well be described as 'kites'. (Later they reached menacing proportions.) On the ground there were staff cars, motor-bicycles, three-tonners, and f.w.d. lorries which hauled 9.2 in. howitzers, and London two-decker buses. Sometimes these were a blessing to the infantry, but they could also, during 'rest' periods, bump them along the *pavé* roads, between the avenues of poplars (many of them shot-off stumps) to the trenches, where they could enjoy a pleasant digging party and return just before dawn. In the uncertain 'first light', the wrecked and deserted villages they passed through had a grotesque and macabre appearance and, to a Highlander, might well have seemed to be full of ghosts.

During one of these night parties the Commanding Officer of the 49th C.E.F. Battalion, walking unsuspectingly along a communicating trench, was nearly knocked down by a rush of CANADIAN 79th HIGHLANDERS headed by a sergeant, who fiercely demanded, 'Whaur in hell is the fechtin line?' It was their first experience in the line, and hearing distant sounds of a minor trench raid and some gunfire, they downed tools and made a dash to be in it. It was only with great difficulty that he persuaded them to go back to their own job.

The Canadians' first large-scale battle was a peculiarly trying ordeal. Their 1st Division, which included all those Scottish units previously mentioned as being in the 3rd Brigade, was in the line, between the YPRES–Roulers railway and the Ypres–Poelcappelle road. The trenches were extremely bad—shallow, with thin parapets and no parados (back protection). There was water as well as mud, and wherever they dug to try and improve matters, they uncovered bodies of French soldiers. If they moved a sandbag an arm slipped down, or a boot hung out, and the atmosphere was, to say the least, not air-conditioned. However, things were quiet—only moderate sniping and some machine-gun fire, and they settled down for their tour of duty.

It was like this on the afternoon of 22nd April 1915, when suddenly, at about three o 'clock, the most ferocious bombardment began, and continued for two hours. It is easy to imagine the conditions when the wounded and the new dead were blown up with the old, but they took it like experienced soldiers.

Then, as the gun-fire slackened, a greenish fog rolled slowly across from the German lines. The main gas-cloud enveloped the

part of the line held by the 'Turcos' (French Algerians), who were completely horrified and probably thought it was some devilish kind of magic. Gasping and foaming and half-blinded, those able to run cleared off, as did some French territorial troops, leaving a gap of about three miles on the left of the 3rd CANADIAN BRIGADE, through which the Germans poured. The Canadians held their ground, being constantly attacked from various directions, and some captured guns in the rear were fired into their unprotected backs.

Heavy siege guns were making havoc in the town of Ypres and causing a wholesale flight of civilians and, with panic-stricken gas-casualties arriving at the same time, there was considerable confusion. In these conditions the 10th C.E.F. BATTALION, and the 16th (CANADIAN SCOTTISH), billetted in the town, were ordered out to drive the enemy back from BOIS CUSENIER (later called Kitchener's Wood), near the village of St. Julien, where they had arrived after passing through the gap in the line. It was dark when the two battalions reached St. Julien and they made a bayonet charge through the wood, by the light of flares, drove out the Germans and recaptured a battery of guns. From then they were involved in fighting and marching continuously for several days, and at the end were complimented by General Sir H. Smith-Dorrien. The CALGARY HIGHLANDERS and the CANADIAN SCOTTISH REGIMENT were granted a special shoulder badge in honour of their achievement, which is known as 'the soup plate'. (The battle honour is 'SAINT JULIEN').

The 13th BATTALION (ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA) and the 15th (48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA), still holding their line to the right of the gap left by the French, beat off continuous attacks, and were quite cut off until a company of the BUFFS came up and joined them on the 23rd, and both lost very heavily.

The Germans kept on attacking until the 24th, and more gas was sent over, almost annihilating the 15th C.E.F. Battalion (48th HIGHLANDERS).

The 2nd A & S HIGHLANDERS took part in the battle and had similar experiences and for a time each company had to hold out on its own. The 2nd SEAFORTH was concerned in the fighting round St. Julien and suffered severely from one of the later gas attacks.

Lance-Corporal Fisher of the ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA won the first Canadian V.C. of the war, posthumously. He was in charge of a machine-gun team and cleverly and persistently brought it into action at the right place and the right moment. His whole team was knocked out, replaced and wiped out again, and finally he was killed.

Fortunately the Germans did not realize how little was between them and a break-through, and so did not press on as they might have, but General French knew, and he said of the Canadians 'the

bearing and conduct of these splendid troops averted a disaster which might have been attended with the most serious consequences.' Thus their first big show (the SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES) had earned them high praise, to which the BLACK WATCH subscribed its quota by adding to its recruiting posters, the words 'with which is allied the 13th CANADIAN BATTALION, ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA'.

During 1915 the GUARDS DIVISION was formed, and, as in the Peninsula, the Crimea and many old campaigns, it remained to the end something quite out of the ordinary. It was utterly reliable in action and its exceptional standard of discipline automatically prevented any deterioration, even in such matters as saluting and smart turnout immediately the men were out of the line—regardless of battles, casualties, hardships and Flanders mud. It was in recognition of their services in this war that Privates of the Guards were given the distinction of being described as 'Guardsmen'.

In the 1914–18 war the Empire forces began the geographical sorting-out of their responsibilities, which was carried out much further in World War II. For instance the Canadians put all their strength into the Western Front, the South Africans first dealt with the enemy in Africa, and the ANZACs assembled in Egypt and were engaged in the Gallipoli campaign but, in that war, they all eventually found their way to the main battle-ground—the Western Front.

The first landing at GALLIPOLI took place the day after the Second Battle of Ypres and the following Scottish units all earned battle honours for the campaign—the 5th, 16th and 27th BATTALIONS OF AUSTRALIAN INFANTRY, the 4th, 5th and 7th BATTALIONS RS, 4th 5th, and 8th RSF, 4th and 5th KOSB, the CAMERONIANS, and 5th, 6th and 7th HLI, all in the 52nd (LOWLAND) DIVISION, which served also in Egypt and Palestine and later in France, the 1st KOSB, the LANARK YEOMANRY, the LOVAT SCOUTS, the SCOTTISH HORSE and the FIFE AND FORFAR YEOMANRY (the last two became the 13th and 14th battalions of the BLACK WATCH).

Yeomanry, Territorials, Kitchener's battalions, and later, Lord Derby's men, were all regulars 'for the duration' in much the same way as the Fencibles in the previous centuries were brigaded with regular regiments and served under exactly the same conditions. They, of course, included many men to whom soldiering had no appeal, but all of them were anxious to 'do their bit', and records of these battalions are such as might give pride and satisfaction to regulars.

The Gallipoli enterprise, commanded by General Sir Ian Hamilton, was an attempt, which had great possibilities, to deal with one of Germany's allies—Turkey—and then to join up with Russia for

an attack from the East. Before the 29th Division embarked, Major-General Hunter-Weston (disrespectfully known as 'Hunter-Bunter') sent each man a personal note, ending with the words, 'In Nelson's time it was England, now it is the whole Empire, which expects that each man of us will do his duty'.

The landing on the open beaches of the Gallipoli peninsula was the largest operation of this nature yet carried out by the British Army, as well as being among the first experiences of the Yeomanry, Territorials, Australians and New Zealanders in a European war.

The scene was more reminiscent of Aboukir, in 1801, than of the muddy plains of France—April sunshine and the blue Aegean Sea, narrowing into the Dardanelles Straits on the right, less than a mile wide at Chanak—a little town of white, red-roofed houses fronted by batteries of oldfashioned 12 in. Krupp guns. To the left was the peninsula with its sandy beaches and cliffs, grass and scrub covered hills, intersected by gullies and ravines, rising gradually to the 700-foot summit of Achi Baba, about five miles north of Cape Helles. On the Asiatic side was similar country, where the ruins of Troy were to form a landing beach for French troops.

About 42,000 Turks under Liman von Sanders—a skilful German General, were entrenched on the narrow peninsula and well supported with artillery, which was augmented by heavy guns on the Asiatic side of the straits and Turkish battleships in the neighbourhood of Chanak.

The Allied force was approximately 60,000 strong but was short of artillery. Its advanced base was at Mudros, in the Island of Lemnos, where, in a spacious bay, a huge fleet lay at anchor while landing practices were carried out, and not an enemy aircraft in the sky.

On the 25th April 1915, the transports steamed out, while the heavy guns of the Navy shelled the Turkish positions.

The 29th Division contained regular battalions, gathered in from India and other stations, too late to join the original B.E.F., and at the beginning these were given the most hazardous tasks. Among them, the 1st KOSB had eighteen hours of continuous hard fighting at 'Y' beach, and lost 296 killed and wounded, after which they were ordered to re-embark.

Landings were carried out in daylight, by troops massed on lighters and in boats which were towed in near the beaches. There they struggled ashore, through wire and mines, in the water and in the sand, all the time under machine-gun and rifle fire from Turks entrenched along low cliffs and concealed in the dunes. Most of the troops got ashore, with heavy casualties, and managed to establish themselves—except at 'V' beach, the most important of all. There the DUBLIN and the MUNSTER FUSILIERS and the HAMPSHIRES arrived,

crowded in the 'River Clyde', an old collier, with landing-doorways cut in her sides, which was run close inshore. There were about 2,000 troops, opposed by some 500 Turks, but they formed a sitting target. Platoon after platoon leapt unhesitatingly into the water and made heroic efforts to get ashore, but were shot down in scores, in the sea and on the edge of the beach. There was covering fire from machine-guns on the upper deck, but the Turks were snugly entrenched and it did not worry them. The naval guns seem to have had little effect and what was needed was a barrage of H.E. during the actual landing. This magnificent but useless sacrifice continued without stint, until the space between the ship and the beach became a mass of bodies, and the brigadier himself was killed. Eventually the landing was stopped until nightfall, when the survivors got ashore and the 5th ROYAL SCOTS joined them.

The AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND ARMY CORPS was to land north of Gaba Tepe, about three miles up the west side of the peninsula, before dawn, but in the darkness they went too far and reached a spot which became known as Anzac Cove. Fortunately it was not well defended and, with comparatively light casualties, they got 20,000 men ashore within twenty-four hours.

The original plan was to make a rush for Achi Baba, the hill from which the whole peninsula could be observed and kept under artillery fire. But after the landings, none of the troops were able to advance immediately, except the ANZAC men, who rushed straight at the enemy and quickly became involved in fierce fighting among gullies and ravines, where they made good progress but, unfortunately, owing to their having landed too far north, this did not fit the immediate plan.

Thus all surprise effect was lost and von Sanders could see the extent of the menace and was given time to regroup accordingly. Then the worst happened—static war set in, as in France.

The troops in the line had to dig in, and work on the beaches had to be carried on under intermittent shell-fire, as the whole area was within easy range of the Turkish guns. The cliffs and hills gave some cover, except from the long-range guns whose shells came plunging down from a great height, but some of the beaches were open to direct fire from guns on the Asiatic side. The shells seem to have been treated with nonchalant disregard, as photographs show ships lying close inshore, white tents, great dumps of ammunition, mule convoys, and enormous collections of tins being filled with water for the front-line troops which had been brought in ships. One shell could have inflicted thirst on a whole brigade. Finally two complete networks of trenches extended right across the peninsula, the whole of the area occupied by the British (apart from Anzac Cove) measuring about three miles by one-and-a-half.

The entire campaign was dogged by misfortune, and inability to seize fleeting opportunities. The Turks and the British made numerous full-scale attacks, often using as many as 30,000 to 40,000 infantry, but could not break the line. The most ambitious of these efforts was the BATTLE OF SUVLA, in August 1915, in which fierce and bloody fighting continued for nearly a week, and involved about 120,000 British, Indian and French troops, attacking about the same number of Turks, in good trenches, some of which were roofed with beams, like the 'covered ways' of the eighteenth century. The LOWLAND DIVISION took part in the attack at Helles, and the ANZACS earned fame at LONE PINE RIDGE. A fresh landing was made at Suvla, north of Anzac Cove, where 20,000 men were kept idle on the beach, bathing and 'brewing-up', while Turkish reinforcements sweated blood to reach the line and a wonderful opportunity faded away. Eventually a move was made, and the YEOMANRY DIVISION, arriving from Egypt, was also landed at Suvla and took part in the later attacks, where many wounded were burned in the scrub, which had been set ablaze by the shelling. But little was gained by the whole affair.

In the end, Churchill says, 'the determination of the British Government to give in at all costs was now inflexible' and an evacuation was ordered. Ironically this operation, which was com-completed almost without a casualty (the 7th CAMERONIANS being the last to leave) was the most successful of all, but it ended what had been an alluring hope, as a total loss.

The troops had endured much in addition to the constant shelling, and encounters with rifle and bayonet and 'Tickler's artillery' (grenades made up in the 1-lb tins of Tickler's plum and apple ration jam), and even during rest periods out of trenches their only 'billets' consisted of what they called 'graves'—long shallow holes in which to sleep at night or to dive into when shelling started. There was great heat in the day and severe cold at night, no water for washing except on the beaches, and sand blew into everything. The stench of death was everywhere, and swarms of flies and mosquitoes were in regular attendance, the flies relieving the mosquitoes at dawn and vice versa at sunset. But like the WILTSHIRES,[1] 'there were no flies on' the men, and the ANZACs and the Territorials had graduated with first-class honours.

In France vast and bloody battles continued to occur periodically. Some were attempts, by one side or the other, to break through the line, and some merely to improve the static positions with a view to the future. There was a somewhat monotonous routine about them, which began with the closing-down of leave, apparently aimless troop movements, enormous expansions of certain ammunition and

[1] 'The vly be on the turmut, but there baint no vlies on we . . .'

ration dumps, and finally secret briefing, with large models of specially complicated objectives. The battles normally began with bombardments, which sometimes lasted two or three days, but for a long time they were curtailed by shortage of ammunition. When they reached full maturity, the continuous roar of the 'drum-fire' from vast numbers of guns, and the ceaseless fountains and cascades of earth and debris in the enemy line gave the impression that nothing but a rubbish heap could have been left. Whole woods were reduced to areas of shattered tree-stumps, and villages became just mounds of rubble. The tense periods of waiting caused the greatest nerve strain—when a regiment knew it was detailed for an attack, during the bombardment, and finally in the assembly trenches. Cancellations and postponements made it even worse, and it was almost a relief to the men when 'Zero' arrived and they went 'over the top'.

They usually advanced in 'waves' or irregular lines, at set intervals, while the guns kept up a 'barrage' in front of them and continued to fire on enemy batteries. Sometimes they reached the German trenches without great loss, and then semi-underground dogfights with bayonet and grenade developed. But often they staggered through a quagmire under heavy fire of machine-guns, brought up from concrete dugouts at the last moment, and discovered that even all those thousands of shells could leave the wire uncut. When things went well considerable areas of trenches were taken, but there were others in the rear and German reinforcements came up, so that they never really got into the open until near the end of the war. When it went badly, 'no-man's land' was strewn with bodies and the dead and wounded hung on the enemy's wire, or fell into the middle of it. The survivors took cover in shell-holes and withdrew after dark.

One of the great battles of 1915 was at LOOS, in September, and involved many of the Scottish units then on the Western Front, including six battalions of BW, five of CAMERONS and five of GORDONS. The 9th (SCOTTISH), the 15th (SCOTTISH) DIVISIONS (both present at Loos), and the 51st (HIGHLAND) and the 52nd (LOWLAND) DIVISIONS, formed solid blocks of hard-fighting 'Jocks', and many were in the 1st Division, but there were also units scattered among other divisions, like the GLASGOW HIGHLANDERS (9/HLI) in the 5th Brigade, 2nd Division, where it was, for a time, with the 2nd HLI. An enemy document was discovered during the war, which listed the British divisions in order of German displeasure, and was headed by the 51st. 'Jocks' were to be found everywhere and included a battalion of 'Bantams'—the 18th HLI—dismounted Yeomanry, &c., and, of course, many served in non-Scottish units. One battalion—the 6th RSF—had the honour of being commanded, in 1916, by Colonel the Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill, C.H., M.P.

An interesting point is that all the Scottish regular units except one (the Greys) and, at that time, nearly all those of the Dominions, were infantry—the fighting core of the Forces, for whose support all the other arms and services exist, and without whom, as Field-Marshal Montgomery said in later years, 'One can do nothing—nothing at all.'

The changed conditions of war—massed artillery, machine-gun barrages, &c., caused some uncertainty regarding the proper use of pipers, and they met with varying treatment. In some cases they were used as stretcher-bearers by Commanding Officers, who were certain that either they would be, if piping, the first men to become casualties, or they would so excite the other men that they might rush ahead into their own barrage. But this did not apply to all regiments, as evidenced by Piper D. Laidlaw, 7th KOSB, who, just before the attack at Loos, walked along the trench parapet playing 'Blue Bonnets' until he was wounded. Even then he limped and staggered on with the regiment, and later he was awarded a V.C.

A curious incident occurred during the same action—a reversion to the tradition of ancient battlefields, when the H.Q. flag of the 7th CAMERONS was carried and used, with great success, as a rallying point during attacks and counter-attacks at 'HILL 70'. About three months later, the great honour, with its heavy responsibility, of commanding the B.E.F., was conferred on a Scot—Sir Douglas Haig, a former officer of the 17th LANCERS.

It is not possible even to mention all the battles of this tremendous war, in which regimental losses of 400 or 500 men were commonplace. Time after time battalions were almost wiped out, and were filled up again with reinforcements, but they lost nothing in keenness and fighting value, as the spirit of the few survivors quickly permeated the large numbers of new arrivals, and soon they were ready to face fresh ordeals. During the four years of the war, the various battalions of each regiment between them suffered many thousands of casualties, the KOSB, for instance losing 359 officers and 6,500 men killed, and the GORDONS over 9,000. Wounded, of course, would number several times as many.

While battles and stagnation alternated along the Western Front, some of the Scottish battalions went to more distant countries and experienced entirely different conditions. The 1st SEAFORTH, which was the British unit of the Dehra Dun Indian brigade, and the 1st HLI, served in France for a year and then went, with the Indian Corps, to MESOPOTAMIA, where they fought in several desert battles against the Turks and took part in the victorious entry into Baghdad. The place was somewhat disappointing, and the romantic atmosphere of 'the city of the Caliphs' was hard to find among mud-brick hovels and evil smells. At the battle of SHEIKH SAAD, 1916, the 1st

SEAFORTH and the 2nd BLACK WATCH suffered so heavily that the two regiments were temporarily amalgamated, as 'the HIGHLAND BATTALION'. Then at SANNIYAT, about three months later, this unit lost 41 officers and 880 men, so these two regular battalions reached the same condition as those which had been in the Mons retreat.

Other Scottish battalions served in the BALKANS, ITALY, and PALESTINE—all large-scale campaigns, and some, like the 6th RS, dealt with 'Buddus' (Bedouin) in NORTH AFRICA. At the end of the war the 2nd HLI and 2/10th RS visited darkest, and coldest, RUSSIA, and took part in some operations near Archangel. In the Balkans, where among other units the LOTHIANS and BORDER HORSE, the LOVAT SCOUTS, the SCOTTISH HORSE, and the LONDON SCOTTISH served, the 1st A & S HIGHLANDERS formed such a close friendship with the 2nd GLOUCESTERS that, before parting the officers of each regiment made each other permanent honorary members of their messes. In this campaign 2/CAMERONS earned fame in a battle against the Bulgarians at KARAJAKÖI.

In France the deadlock held, like an all-in wrestling match where the two giants strove grimly to break each other's necks, or at least to gain advantage by bursting an eyeball with judiciously applied thumb-pressure. In 1916 the French lost 370,000 at VERDUN and the British about 400,000 at the SOMME, where the SOUTH AFRICANS gained renown and suffered great losses at DELVILLE WOOD, but still neither side could release the other's grip. All the Scottish regiments on this front were frequently involved in attempts to break through or in resisting German 'pushes', and the 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION and the SOUTH AFRICANS took part in the first big tank battle, at CAMBRAI, November 1917. Without any preliminary bombardment nearly 400 tanks, followed by infantry, made a sudden attack. The Germans were horror-struck and surrendered in large numbers, but after an advance of five miles, momentum was lost, counter-attacks were thrown in, and stalemate supervened once more.

The CANADIAN CORPS and the ANZAC did splendid work in many great battles, among which the capture of VIMY RIDGE (an entirely Canadian affair), and the battle of PASSCHENDALE, both in 1917, were outstanding. An inscription in the memorial chamber of the Peace Tower in Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, describes the Vimy operations as follows:—'. . . On 27th March (1917), the artillery bombardment opened: it increased gradually until 9th April, when, with the four divisions in concert and in line on 7,500 yards of front, ECURIE-SOUCHEZ, the Canadian Corps, 100,000 strong, crashed through the German lines, swept over VIMY RIDGE, and took the guns in FARBUS and GOULOT WOODS, and covered the Southern attack by making THELUS village and LA FOLIE FARM secure. WILLERVAL and GIVENCHY (en-Gohelle) were taken on 13th April, ARLEUX on 28th;

the line then ran across DOUAI plain for 5,000 yards from near OPPY to BOIS DE L'HIRONDELLE. Canadian casualties in April were 13,477.' This battle is regarded by Canadians as their finest achievement in that war. The Canadian National Monument, on Vimy Ridge, was unveiled by King Edward VIII, in 1936, and on 9th April 1945 (the anniversary), a memorial service was held there, during which about 250 pipers of Canadian Scottish units, serving again on the ancient battlefields of the Low Countries, played 'The Flowers of the Forest', in memory of their men of 1917.

In that year far-reaching events were occurring away from the Western Front. The Navy won the fight against the U-boats, which had been a terror to our shipping. Russia went out, after the Bolshevik revolution, freeing a million Germans and 3,000 guns, to increase the strain on the depleted and exhausted French and British. On 6th April the United States, 'long sunk in doubt', as Churchill put it, at last came into the war. But between the defection of Russia and the time when America could take her full part in the front line, was a long and critical period for the Allies, during which the great GERMAN PUSH OF MARCH 1918 came nearer to success than any of the battles since Mons.

America's entry was almost too late, as her forces were not present during this grave crisis, when successive attacks by 750,000 Germans against 300,000 British might easily have ended the war. The British alone had to resist the most stupendous bombardment and the heaviest attacks ever made in the history of war, while the French Generalissimo Foch refused to put in his reserve divisions because he was expecting an attack on the French lines. Haig's General Order of 11th April 1918, contained these words:— 'There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight on to the end. The safety of our homes and the Freedom of mankind alike depend upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment.'

It was only through the determination of each man to carry this out that this colossal German effort was defeated. One has no hesitation in saying that it is improbable that any troops other than British could have done it, and these regiments had been wiped out time after time and were full of young and inexperienced soldiers.

Among formations officially mentioned for their rock-like tenacity were the 9th (SCOTTISH), the 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISIONS, and the 4th GUARDS BRIGADE. The SOUTH AFRICAN BRIGADE and the 1st AUSTRALIAN DIVISION also had their share of it.

The line was battered and bent and pushed back far behind its defences, but battalions, companies, and even platoons, held out to the last when hopelessly surrounded. Cavalry, school staffs, and all available details from any source, were rushed into the gaps and

finally, after weeks of fighting, with enormous casualty lists, the attacks were held. This was, in actual fact, the decisive battle of the war, as it made the Germans finally realize the hopelessness of their task.

Life on the Western Front was frequently exceedingly grim, but occasionally it did provide interludes and always there were the minor comic reliefs so well illustrated by that understanding cartoonist, Bruce Bairnsfather—'old Bill' with his 'walrus' and Balaclava helmet, the 'better 'ole', and orders about 'shaving the upper lip' being telephoned to a signaller in a one-piece dugout (one sheet of corrugated iron) while the few sandbags above it, and the earth all round, were airborne in a bombardment.

The years were not entirely spent in mud-holes, or in battle, and just occasionally each division went right away to the rear, for two or three weeks rest. In July 1918, the whole CANADIAN CORPS had a spell out of the line, in G.H.Q. reserve—actually for training in open warfare, but they managed to put in some good parties. They held a Corps sports too, at a place called Tinques, in a vast green arena, with white tents, stands, and many flags, and numerous bands, including a massed pipe band.

But the high spot, for the Scots, was a Highland Gathering in the same setting, where Highland games were played, and a galaxy of Clan tartans mysteriously appeared. At the end of the ceremony, 'retreat' was enacted by 284 pipers and 164 drummers, led by 'Flora' the pet goat of the 13th BATTALION (ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA). The stage had been reached when 'air cover' was needed so far behind the line, and this was provided by one Scout 'plane circling overhead!

Soon after these diversions came an attempt to use the open warfare training they had done. The BATTLE OF AMIENS, August 1918, was historic, if only for the reason that the attack was carried out by the ANZAC and the CANADIAN CORPS, advancing side by side. Here was an unprecedented event which marked an important stage in the development of the Commonwealth. Dominion troops had fought together as far back as the Boer War, but never had there been such powerful forces of them, fighting a full-scale European battle under their own commanders—Generals Currie and Monash. Among the four Canadian and four Anzac divisions were Scots who earned the battle honour 'AMIENS' for seventeen of the now-existing Canadian Scottish units and all five of the Australian ones. These troops were so often employed in attacks that if the German intelligence agents reported them moving into a particular sector of the line, the enemy troops were at once warned to be on their toes, and they acquired a reputation among the whole army for exceptional dash and initiative.

Amiens was a well-planned battle, in which the British forces available consisted of 13 infantry divisions, over 2,000 guns of all calibres, 520 tanks of various types, and about 800 aircraft, including fighters, bombers, and reconnaissance 'planes. The Cavalry Corps of 3 divisions (in which were the GREYS who had acted as infantry in many battles) was held in readiness for a break-through and one Canadian cavalry brigade did, in fact, take part, but the incongruous mixture of horses and tanks did not work out too well as the horses went too fast for the tanks of those days, until machine-gun fire stopped them, when the tanks, whose crews were more or less deafened, and had very limited vision, went on and left them. Actually it was merely one more proof of the folly of using horses against twentieth-century weapons.

The battle went on for three days, infantry and tanks attacking, using smoke screens and being supported by massed artillery and fighter aircraft flying at tree-top height, while bombers attacked special objectives in the enemy's rear and tried, unsuccessfully, to demolish bridges over the Somme. Intelligent use was made of every available weapon and co-operation between the air and ground forces of all arms was certainly developing, though the methods would be considered crude nowadays. The Canadian and Anzac infantry accomplished great things, but the fighting developed into many disconnected attacks against alternately heavily defended localities and weak spots in the defence. It eventually slowed down and drew to a standstill when it came up against another solid line of trenches and thirteen fresh German divisions had arrived and most of the tanks were out of action. However, an advance of twelve miles had been made, and it was estimated that 75,000 Germans were knocked out for a loss of 22,202 killed, wounded and missing, and the enemy's morale was seriously affected.

At last, after bitter fighting at the HINDENBURG LINE, CANAL DU NORD, &c., the long-expected break-through came, and the triumphant advance to the Rhine, receiving the surrender of thousands of dejected Huns on each day of the forward march.

Then, after many seemingly unnecessary delays which caused restiveness among some of the troops, came the long-hoped-for return home. In Canada demobilization procedure was dramatically efficient. To quote one instance the 13th BATTALION (ROYAL HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA) marched through the crowded and decorated streets of Montreal, to Peel Barracks, where a banner over the gateway, said 'The End of the Trail'. They formed up on the square, presented arms to the Colours, and on the word of command 'Dismiss!', the war suddenly became a memory instead of an ever-present fact, and men's lives ceased to be 'expendable stores'. Then for a day or two, there were reunions, dinners, celebrations, and the

men gradually scattered to their homes in various parts of Canada. Similar scenes were going on in all parts of the Empire, just a little different in each country, but with the same feelings everywhere—of thankfulness that it was over and that families were at last reunited, of satisfaction in having 'stuck it out' to a successful end, and sorrow for the many who would not come back, or would spend the rest of their lives as cripples. Then, of course, life had rather suddenly become filled with individual interests and planning for the future.

Little outward mention was made of what was probably the most deep-seated emotion, anyhow of the Scots, that the nation had risen to meet a challenge as great as any in its history, and that its men, and women, had proved themselves able to endure the ordeals of war at least as well as any of their fighting ancestors. The war had been on a vaster scale than any previous one and, with modern organization and enormous production of weapons, it had involved greater tests of nerve and endurance than ever before. Scots from all over the world had flocked to the greatest gathering of the clans ever known, and their fighting reputation stood even higher than at any time in the past. Scotland does not forget these things, and in the Castle at Edinburgh, standing on its grim, rocky height, is one of the most beautifully designed and most impressive memorials in the world. It commemorates many Scots, besides those in Scottish regiments, who served with other units and services, and even the animals are not forgotten. Half a million volunteers had enlisted in Scotland before conscription came in, in 1916.

The whole Empire lost a million killed, and the Book in Edinburgh's shrine contains 100,000 names, including those of Camerons and Gordons last seen in the mud of Loos, of Lowlanders whose bodies drifted into the Aegean Sea from Helles beaches, and of men who died in scorching deserts once covered by Noah's great flood. The battle honours won in 1914–18 far outnumber all those of previous wars; for instance, the CAMERONS have 52, the HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY 64, the ROYAL SCOTS 71, and the BLACK WATCH OF CANADA 26, No Colours could be large enough to bear them all, so each regiment had to select the ten battles whose memories it honoured most, and these were emblazoned on the King's Colours—a new regulation, made necessary because the names of earlier battles had already filled the Regimental Colours.

Large numbers of personal decorations were awarded to Scots, and a most unusual foreign honour was conferred on 6/BW and 12/A & SH, the Croix de Guerre being awarded to the whole battalion in each case.

CHAPTER XI · 1919-44

WORLD WAR II
SCOTTISH REGIMENTS OF THE EMPIRE

The 1914–18 war, like Waterloo, was supposed by wishful thinkers to have been the last great European war—'the war to end wars', and much similar claptrap, encouraged by the type of politician who panders to the self-indulgence of the people. Now everyone's energy could be directed solely to the accumulation of money and the luxuries and pleasures it would provide. It was natural to think that four years of barbarism and destruction on so vast a scale would have taught the nations not to repeat their folly, and for men to hope that their sons would never have to endure what they had been through. So history books were conveniently consigned to the darkest cupboard, and British public opinion—representing the sum of national ignorance—had its way. One thing the public was sure of—it did not want another 1914, and beyond that effort of thought, it did not intend to worry.

All over the Empire a fresh spell of destruction began—breaking up all the organization of war, dumping ammunition in the sea, selling-off vehicles, clothing and stores, destroying ships, guns, tanks, aircraft, and all unsaleable articles, and generally wiping out the results of the last four years. Much of this is unavoidable after any great war owing to the impossibility of keeping all the accumulated munitions in good order without employing a colossal maintenance staff, and to the inevitable processes of decay and obsolescence, but it was done with such enthusiasm that not only was there hardly anything left, but the Forces themselves dwindled to such an extent that the Empire was left almost undefended.

As regards the Army, practically only the regular regiments continued a more or less normal existence, but with the general unpopularity of military affairs, recruits were so scarce that often a battalion could not muster more than a couple of hundred men. It is true that, at that period no important potential enemy was in sight, but this did not put an end to the crude facts of human existence, which continued to produce a moderate crop of trouble, and involved Scottish regiments in various parts of the world.

The 1st A & SH dealt with a mutiny at Khartoum in 1924, and the 2nd BATTALION was concerned in the Sinn Fein Rebellion in Ireland, in 1920–22, provided anti-pirate guards on the Yangtse River, and took part in operations against the Mohmands and the Mahsud Wazirs on the N.W. Frontier of India in 1935 and 1937. The 1st CAMERONS experienced a severe earthquake in Rangoon in 1923, and in 1935 were in Khartoum where they had a reunion with 9th SUDANESE and dug up reminiscences about the days of Fort Kosheh. In 1919 the 2nd BATTALION travelled over the precipitous hairpin bends of the road from Batum through the wild forest country of the Caucasus, to Tiflis on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and in 1929 the 2nd A & SH had the unusual experience of travelling to China via the Panama Canal.

The GREYS who, like the Household Cavalry, had never previously been sent abroad, except on active service, left Southampton in 1920, to spend seven years in Egypt, Palestine and India. In 1938 they went back to Palestine to protect the Jews and the Arabs from each other, and followed in the footsteps of the Crusaders, to Acre, Jericho, and other places with biblical names. The two battalions of the CAMERONIANS visited Ireland, China, India where they came in for some active service, Iraq, and Palestine, and the remaining regiments had similar changes of scene.

Each regiment normally followed the Cardwell System, by having one battalion at home, which provided drafts for the other which was stationed overseas, and during peaceful spells, at home or abroad, regiments competed with one another in keeping up their toughness and efficiency and, incidentally, adding trophies to the glittering collections of plate in their messes. At the annual shooting competitions at Bisley, teams from all over the Empire took part, and in 1920 the WITWATERSRAND RIFLES provided eight members of the South African team of eleven, one of whom, Sergeant Fred Morgan, won the King's Prize. The 1st A & SH scored a unique triumph by being the first Highlanders to win the Infantry Cup at the Aldershot Command Horse Show, and other distinctions, too varied and numerous to mention here, were won by Scottish regiments, from Edinburgh as far afield as Vancouver and Singapore.

The annual searchlight Tattoos at Aldershot and Tidworth, and in the other Commands, were enormously popular, and the roads were busy with homeward-bound cars nearly until sunrise. These wonderfully spectacular displays, however, involved much practice and rehearsing, which meant less time for normal training, but the men re-enacted battle scenes with tremendous gusto and seemed to find great pleasure in dying agonizing 'deaths' in front of huge audiences. The spectators were specially attracted by the massed bands, often consisting of a thousand men, or more, all in full dress,

and the GREYS and the Highland regiments were always much in favour at any show. They enjoyed the ancient forms of drill too and at one tattoo, when the laborious procedure of loading muskets had progressed to about the seventeenth operation, the next command, 'Grenadiers! Blow off your Loose Corns!', given in a voice like that of R.S.M. Brittain, produced a roar of laughter from the whole arena.

Interspersed among the training, the games, the competitions the trooping seasons, and the changing of home stations, came various occasions of ceremonial and pageantry. Apart from the normal London ones in which the SCOTS GUARDS took part with the other regiments of the Brigade, there were presentations of new colours, with the solemn marching off of the old ones to the tune of 'Auld Lang Syne', King's Birthday parades, Royal reviews, a Silver Jubilee and a Coronation, in which Dominion Contingents took part. Regimental bands toured the Dominions, and visited foreign countries. For example, the band of 2/A & SH toured New Zealand in 1926, and that of the CAMERONS' went to South America in 1931 and, generally speaking there was no lack of opportunities for seeing the world.

But, while peace-loving governments shambled shabbily out of difficult situations (being so unprepared as to have no choice), the 'Herrenvolk', stirred by the hysterical frenzy of an Austrian house-painter, were preparing, with ruthless German thoroughness, to employ scientific barbarism in one more colossal effort to put the world in its proper place—as their slaves.

In the Territorial Army, and among the Dominion regiments, recruits were scarce and training grants so inadequate that often, as in the case of the LORNE SCOTS of Canada, an annual camp could only be held if officers and men gave up their pay to meet the expenses. It was not until about 1936 that the situation was taken at all seriously. The 1st A & SH then formed part of an experimental brigade at Tidworth, which was trying out new types of transport and armoured fighting vehicles. At the same time a reorganization was carried out in Canada and a number of infantry regiments were converted to Artillery or M.-G. units. Similar processes which provided more A.-A. and Searchlight units went on among the other Dominions and in the Territorial Army, the Militia was given a boost, and the introduction of the Bren gun increased the fire-power of the infantry. By then most people felt that the days of Peace were numbered and they began, unwillingly, to prepare their minds, if not their weapons, but it was a tardy process. The non-regular regiments had done what they could with limited means, and big reunions like that of the 48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA, in 1928, when ex-members from all over Canada assembled at Toronto, had

done much to keep up the old spirit, and to remind men that to remain engrossed exclusively in one's private interests when the life of the nation is threatened, is little better than being a deserter.

In accordance with the ancient tradition of peacetime even the regulars were starved of equipment, as well as being short of men, and as late as 1938 (the year of MUNICH), the 1st BLACK WATCH went on manoeuvres with a strength of under 300, with less than half its complement of Bren guns, no mortars or anti-tank guns, and anti-tank rifles and carriers represented by dummies and flags.

In 1939, just when partridge shooting began, the news became so grim that civilians on holiday all over the country began streaming back to their H.Q.'s, afraid of being stranded far away without petrol, and on Sunday the 3rd SEPTEMBER, little parties gathered round wireless sets in millions of homes, to hear Neville Chamberlain telling them that once again the nation was 'for it'.

Again an expeditionary force was sent to France, which included battalions of all the Scottish regiments, except the GREYS, who were in Palestine. It was joined by the 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION of Territorials and a regular battalion was exchanged for one battalion in each brigade. Regiments were billeted in places where British troops have fought periodically since the days of Marlborough, and in some instances men found the graves of their fathers, killed in the 1914–18 war. For about eight months, it was more or less like an armistice, and if one saw a German it was considered the height of bad manners to take a pot-shot at him. This phase was described by the Americans as the 'phoney' war and still remains something of a mystery, but it was probably due mainly to the fact that Holland and Belgium were neutrals, and, until the Belgian king called for help, after the Germans had arrived, the Allies did not advance into their territory.

In May 1940, the Boche took the initiative and really got down to business. They first made a sudden attack on NORWAY and drove out a small Allied force in which was a battalion of the SCOTS GUARDS. Next, with their advance aided by carefully planted traitors, and parachute landings, they overran Denmark, Holland and Belgium. The magnificent fortifications of the Maginot Line were by-passed and so counted for nothing as, owing to expectations that Belgium would be an ally, they had not been continued along her French frontier. Then they swept across France, in many areas almost unopposed. For the British it was a repetition of Mons in 1914, except that it was worse and more disastrous. The enemy had armour and aircraft, in greatly superior numbers, and the French had unrecognized enemies living among them. One sign of the changed conditions since the first German war, was that the first news of the German advance to be received by the 6th BLACK WATCH (and prob-

ably other units) was from the B.B.C., on the wireless set in the Officers' Mess.

As the Germans pressed on against the Allied front, the Belgian army of about half a million formed the left of the line, behind which lay the British Army's supply routes from the Channel ports and, if it came to the worst, its line of retreat. The position did not seem hopeless until the King of Belgium suddenly surrendered, leaving the enemy a clear run between the British and French and the sea. There was not time for the Allies to regroup to meet this disastrous situation and from then chaos set in.

British regiments beat off attacks, dug trenches and organized defensive positions, time after time, only to be told to move on and destroy all their stores. Sometimes they could not move, owing to being already surrounded, and sometimes they marched until they fell asleep as they walked. When they halted, instead of a desperately-needed rest, they had to dig more trenches and then probably received orders to move on again before they had dug in knee-deep. Some travelled by 'bus or truck and some in trains, with enemy tanks and fighters appearing at odd moments and shooting them up. As one instance of the confusion, the 48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA a unit of a Canadian brigade sent to France, arrived at Brest on 13th June and went by train towards the front. At Sable, near Tours, they were told that the Allied armies were breaking up, that France had surrendered, and that they were to get out as best they could. The engine driver refused to drive the train, so a platoon-sergeant-major and a corporal drove, with a Bren gun mounted on the coal in the tender and others pointing through holes made in the roofs of the carriages. They eventually reached St. Malo, and were given a ship to take them across the Channel. Other troops, by devious routes and with many rearguard actions and surprise encounters, reached the DUNKIRK beaches and, by the grace of God, over 300,000 British and French were able to embark in a vast and heterogeneous collection of craft, including hundreds of small private motor-boats, manned by their middle-aged owners, many of which were sunk by bombing, gunfire, or mines. Back in the Napoleonic Wars, the French used to complain that the British were too stupid to know when they were beaten and, by some quaint psychological kink, we almost managed to persuade ourselves that Dunkirk was—not quite a victory, but a great success. (Churchill said—'We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of victory. Wars are not won by evacuations.')

When the Germans reached Boulogne, the 51st HIGHLAND DIVISION was fighting near Abbeville, where the enemy had a bridgehead, across the Somme—that river of evil memory. They went through the same processes as the troops which reached Dun-

kirk, fighting sometimes alongside French troops and once with General de Gaulle's armoured division, withdrawing, preparing new positions, fighting, withdrawing again and again, until eventually they reached the neighbourhood of ST. VALERY. The plan, so far as one existed, after the Germans had infiltrated through the division's wide front, had been to embark at Le Havre, (the 4th BW did get away with their brigade from that port)[1] but now the intention was to make a stand at St. Valery until the remainder could be taken off from there. The division had lost much of its strength. The 7th and 8th A & SH had been cut off and captured, the little light tanks of the LOTHIANS AND BORDER HORSE had mostly been 'brewed up' and every battalion had suffered heavy casualties, some losing whole companies. The men were exhausted, there was little ammunition, no food, and no water, but when the division commander, General Fortune, surrendered the 152nd and 153rd Brigades to Erwin Rommel, in the face of massive German attacks, many of the Jocks became almost hysterical with rage and disappointment. The loss of this division was a severe blow to the small population of the Highlands, as nearly every family had a relation or a friend in one of its battalions, but it was not very long before a resurrected 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION was formed from its surviving brigade and the greater part of the 9th (SCOTTISH) DIVISION. The 52nd (LOWLAND) DIVISION, (also T.A.) and a GUARDS BRIGADE were sent over in last minute attempts to save the situation but were ordered to return, after several days in action, as it was too late to do any good. Afterwards the 52nd was, for a time, trained as a Mountain Division.

France was now an occupied country, as were Norway, the Low Countries, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Russia, at that time, had a treaty with Germany, and the U.S.A. was a neutral. Italy, having waited to test the wind, now came in as an ally of the Germans, and gave them access to the Mediterranean and North Africa. Britain, with massive German armies and the Luftwaffe now less than thirty miles away, stood alone, as she has done before, facing the would-be world conquerors, armed mainly with optimism, which then seemed fairly groundless. But that stout-hearted Dominion, across the Atlantic, where so many Scotsmen have made their homes, was straining every effort to come to her aid. Canada declared war on 10th September 1939 (Britain on the 3rd), and the 1st CANADIAN DIVISION, under Major-General McNaughton, had arrived in U.K. in December, and now formed part of the anti-invasion army in England. This time Canadian Militia units kept their identity and came across either in the form of service battalions or as original units, and all the Generals and staff were Canadians. Ultimately

[1] This brigade consisted of 4/BW, survivors of 7/ and 8/A & SH, and a battalion of RSF.

Canada's army overseas amounted to an Army H.Q., with two Corps, containing three infantry divisions, two armoured divisions, two independent armoured brigades and numerous subsidiary services and units. This was, of course, in addition to naval and air services, and whole-hearted and invaluable help in every other conceivable direction. At the same time Canada had to provide for her own defence (the risk of attack becoming greater after December 1941, when Japan came into the war).

The position was now in many respects similar to that of the period when Napoleon's 'Army of England' was encamped at Boulogne. Invasion was hourly expected from the air and from the sea. So home defence became the first consideration and, concurrently, planning for a long campaign and an eventual 'come-back' on the European continent. In these stirring times it was the voice of Winston Churchill—'war-monger' (i.e. a politician who faced realities) and descendant of the great Duke of Marlborough—which 'stiffened the sinews and summoned up the blood', with sane and realistic, but inspiring words—'What has happened in France makes no difference to our actions and purpose. We have become the sole champions now in arms to defend the world cause. . . . We are sure that in the end all will come right.' For some time the part of Scottish and Canadian-Scottish soldiers, with all the rest, was to train hard, prepare defence schemes, and carry out anti-invasion exercises. Equipment was slow in arriving, but meanwhile there were many opportunities of improving their skill at wiring and sandbagging, toughening the soles of their feet, and concealing their woodland habitations from the eyes of inquisitive pilots.

In August 1940 the invasion began—from the air; and troops in Kent saw many a dog-fight up above, with weaving trails of white vapour, and the crescendo scream of victims streaking down in flames. The nights were filled with the alternating drone of desynchronized bombers, and the rumble of distant heavy bombing, while the glare of raging fires lit up the sky from dusk till dawn. During those weeks, until October, the R.A.F. heavily outnumbered and worked nearly to exhaustion, won one of the most important victories in the history of Britain. The plan was for Goering's Luftwaffe, by continuous attacks, to put out of action all the airfields within fighter range of the proposed invasion area, to destroy the ports, railways and ships, and (with Hunnish optimism) to break the morale of London. As soon as control of the air was established, Hitler's invasion army was to come across. But it never was established and they lost 2,375 planes, plus untold numbers of 'winged' and 'missing', and almost at once the R.A.F. began to bomb Germany seriously. This battle, later called the BATTLE OF BRITAIN, had much the same effect as Trafalgar had in Napoleon's day.

PLATE IX

1935

The Royal Scots Greys (2nd Dragoons)

The kettle-drummer

PLATE IX

Britain still had many irons in distant fires, and one was in the north-east corner of Africa. African affairs naturally concerned the Union of South Africa, which had, by a narrow majority, declared war on 5th September 1939, and was now busily engaged in preparing to give the maximum amount of help, though hindered to some extent by those whose sympathies lay outside the British Empire. With the imminent probability of the Suez Canal being closed, the Cape would occupy the same position as a base for shipping as it did at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and again in the 1914–18 war. Looking northward, Mussolini had an army of something near a quarter of a million Italians and natives in Eritrea and Ethiopia and another equally large, but further off. It was quite evident that trouble would come in the northern part of the great continent, help would be needed there, and there was no knowing which way it would spread or how far. The Scots immediately got busy furbishing-up their existing units and a new one, the PRETORIA HIGHLANDERS, was formed by the end of September 1939, on the initiative of the Transvaal Caledonian Society. The 1st and 2nd Battalions of the TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH (there were then three), were on service in KENYA and ABYSSINIA in 1940–1, having started on a journey filled with interesting experiences in jungles, deserts and mountains, where they shared their camps with pythons, hippopotami, and other local residents. A considerable amount of scrapping was involved which took them to the Red Sea, and thence to Egypt and the Western Desert. There all three battalions took part in great and tragic events which come into the story later.

Though the Italians had many of their best troops—Alpini, Bersaglieri, &c.—among their enormous occupation army in Eritrea and Abyssinia, they failed to show a really enterprising spirit. Within easy reach were the Sudan, where three British battalions and a Sudanese brigade guarded 1,200 miles of frontier, Kenya, where a few battalions of KING'S AFRICAN RIFLES were unsupported until the arrival of the South Africans, and BRITISH SOMALILAND which was defended by a native camel corps. Late in 1940 they did invade Somaliland and the 2nd BLACK WATCH, after wondering how much longer they were to be kept out of the war, chasing bandits in Palestine, suddenly found themselves *en route* for Berbera, via Aden. They became part of a small mixed force of Rhodesians, Indians, East Africans, and Somalis, and had the task of covering a planned withdrawal. They had good shooting and gained experience of the Italians which gave them considerable satisfaction, and were back at Aden in a fortnight.

The other great concentration of Italians was massed on the western frontier of EGYPT where Marshal Graziani commanded a force of about 300,000. These were in small fortified towns along the

coast of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania (areas once colonized by the Romans), and in camps in the Western Desert. With these two powerful forces and the Italian navy and air force, with Germany to back them up, France out of the war, and Britain driven out of Europe, there seemed to them to be little doubt about the issue. Egypt, of course, was their goal. That country becomes a vital spot in every war which extends outwards from Europe, just as the Low Countries have figured for many centuries in the wars of Western Europe. It is not only the Suez Canal which makes it so important—that can be cut or its use can be prevented with comparative ease; but its position—as a bridge between Africa and the East, and as a base for operations in either of these directions, or Northwards into the Balkans and central Europe, or down the East coast of Africa—has been appreciated by strategists as far back as Alexander the Great. Modern conditions had not altered the essential facts. Dictators who wanted the world had to get Egypt as a preliminary and those who did not want to be under the Dictators had to keep them out of it.

The only British force of important size in the northern half of Africa was in Egypt, under General Wavell, a former BLACK WATCH officer, and for its task it seemed a miniature army. It consisted mainly of the troops stationed in Egypt before the war, among whom was a battalion of the SCOTS GUARDS, reinforced by the 4th INDIAN DIVISION, one of whose battalions was the 2nd CAMERONS. After Dunkirk, there was not one fully equipped division in England, so little could be expected from there, but reinforcements came by degrees from India, Australia, and New Zealand and, later, the 1st SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISION, which fought through Abyssinia, joined the Middle East Force—known as M.E.F.

In December 1940, Wavell began his first campaign with the Italians then well inside the Egyptian frontier. It is obviously impossible, in a book of these proportions, to trace the movements throughout a war of this size, of all the battalions of all the Scottish regiments, but among those present, at this stage, in addition to those already mentioned, were 2/HLI, and 1/A & SH. The North African war, which continued until 1943, had a character of its own. It was fought mainly in the Western Desert, where movement was more like navigation at sea, than normal land warfare. Frequently there were no landmarks at all, just miles and miles of soft sand, hard sand, and sand embedded with rocks and stones; and transport could move in any formation, as there were none of the usual confining features such as roads, rivers, hedges, and woods. This had its advantages as regards enemy aircraft, but on the other hand, when crossing the powdery type of sand, each vehicle made a dust cloud which trailed out for hundreds of yards and would

attract attention from a great distance. The dust coated the men thickly all over, stuck to perspiring faces, and got into food, bedding, and everything not hermetically sealed. Water supplies were often 300 or 400 miles apart, and not of the best quality, so the ration was meagre, and men and their clothes were not as clean as they would have liked to be—to put it mildly—and AL63 (anti-louse powder) was in great demand. There were dust-storms and sand-storms which have to be seen to be believed. There was a blazing sun and, at times, the 'khamsin' blew like a breeze coming out a of blast-furnace, and nights could be bitterly cold. There was a filthy plague of flies and anyone who has seen only civilized flies, can have no idea of the persistence of the Egyptian variety. In one mess it was a rule that no one might order a drink or sit down to a meal, until he had slain thirty. One thing, familiar in most wars, was normally absent—rain and the resulting mud. The colours of the sunrise and specially of the sunset would have delighted an artist, and there was something which had a peculiar appeal in the spaciousness, and the untrammelled crudity of desert life. For about three years large numbers of men lived under these conditions, and when they got leave to Cairo, some of them felt intolerant of the luxurious civilization in which the 'chairborne troops' and the brass-hatted 'Gadarine Swine' disported themselves in their spare time.

Wavell's campaign of September 1940 to February 1941, was a complete success. His mechanized force of about 25,000 could move as much as forty miles in a day. It was well-trained in hiding from aircraft (which actually were kept well under control by the R.A.F. programme of bombing air-fields), and was thoroughly tough and efficient. (It was said that the best-behaved troops of all, when off duty, were the Indians, who at first picked up their empty cartridge cases in action as if on peace manoeuvres and, later, the South Africans.) The Italians, who seemed to have settled down to permanent garrison duty, were often surprised and in some cases were found not mentally tuned-up for stiff fighting. The Fascist 'Blackshirt' divisions fought best, but some of the others seemed to have little desire to risk their lives. The campaign reached its peak with the battle of SIDI BARRANI, and a few miles away at NIBEIWA the CAMERONS, following the tanks into the Italian position, in troop-carrying lorries, received their final order from a loud-speaker, 'CAMERONS—GO!' Their carriers speeded ahead, while they leapt from the lorries, and rushed in with the bayonet, the pipes shrilling above the cheering and the general uproar. In an hour they and the 1/6 RAJPUTANA RIFLES killed many hundreds and captured over 2,500. The A & SH did similar work, but came up against dug-in artillery at short range, and the Pipe-Major could not play on his pipes as the sand had blocked them. Their charge went home well,

nevertheless, but this action cost them 9 officers and 144 men. A signal from the GUARDS said that prisoners had not been counted, but they estimated 'about five acres of officers and two hundred acres of other ranks.' The advance continued beyond Benghazi, driving the Italians out of fortresses, defended camps, and airfields, and taking prisoners by tens of thousands—ending with a final round-up at BEDA FOMM.

The news of these great successes, while Britain was still awaiting invasion, cheered up the people at home and greatly impressed the Americans. But Wavell knew there was more to come, and so was not unreasonably elated and regarded them mainly as useful experience. Even while his advance continued, a plan was put in hand for dealing with the other massive Italian army, and before the end of the campaign, the 4th and 5th INDIAN DIVISIONS, including 2/CAMERONS and 2/HLI, disappeared mysteriously from the battle area and eventually found themselves in the Sudan. While this campaign was in progress, the GREYS were still in Palestine, and on 1st March 1941, the officers rode a race, which was a last farewell to their beautiful grey chargers. After six months training with American Stuart tanks, and having taken part in the Syrian campaign, they went to Egypt and soon joined the 8th ARMY, fighting Rommel's' Afrika Korps'. They became a unit of the 4th ARMOURED BRIGADE—their shoulder flash a black jerboa (desert rat) on a white square.

Several generations of CAMERONS had fought in Egypt and the Sudan, from 1801 onwards, and had been stationed there in peacetime, so it was almost 'in the blood' and, as if to remind them, they passed through Tel el Kebir by train, and a later part of their journey took them alongside the Atbara River. The two Indian Divisions, with the 1st SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISION advancing towards them through ABYSSINIA, dealt as severely with the 250,000 Italians in EAST AFRICA, as Wavell had dealt with their other force. It took them about nine weeks altogether, first driving in or capturing those in outlying positions, fighting several large-scale actions *en route*, then the assault on the massive fortified mountain position at KEREN, and finally the capture of the Red Sea port of MASSAWA. The Keren battle lasted several weeks and was a daring operation in which a small force beset with difficulties as regards supplies and reinforcements, attacked a large army which was well supplied and holding a thoroughly organized position. It consisted largely of scaling crags 1,000 or 1,500 feet high to get at the enemy, who had every advantage in cover, observation and fire positions, and who hurled down thousands of light hand-grenades in addition to a mixed bag of other missiles. The names of the CAMERONS and HLI appear very frequently in reports of the fighting and one of the 1,000-foot spurs

was named after the former. They had 288 casualties in one attack and no doubt, in due course, Keren will add another name to their colours.

The 1st SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISION had, by then, entered Addis Abbaba and proceeded, in co-operation with the 5th INDIAN DIVISION, moving from Asmara, to deal with a last stand of the Italians at AMBA ALAGI, another spectacular mountain position, twelve miles long, where some of the peaks had been turned into fortresses as elaborate as the Rock of Gibraltar. Crag by crag the whole position was systematically cleared, by means of artillery, mortars, machine-guns and finally the bayonet, and at the end the pipes of the TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH played the Italian army out on its way to captivity, and the Duke of Aosta graciously thanked the Scots for returning his forty-four cases of personal effects, which they had captured at Dessie, adding that without them he would have been destitute. Amba Alagi surrendered on 18th May 1941, and very soon most of the troops were sent to the Western Desert.

About two months after General Wavell's successful offensive, the somewhat futile Italian invasion of GREECE had been supported by the Germans, attacking in the rear through Macedonia and, with much heart searching, it was decided that we could do no less than send our ally as much help as possible rather than continue the advance along the North African coast. So a force which included the 6th AUSTRALIAN and the NEW ZEALAND DIVISIONS (including the NEW ZEALAND SCOTTISH company), was sent in April 1941. The result was unhappy, as owing to the vast superiority of the Luftwaffe over their available air support, they were bombed and strafed ceaselessly and, in the end, had to withdraw. Immediately following the evacuation 2/BW, with a quota of SOUTHERN RHODESIANS of whom they speak very highly, and 1/A & SH, took part with troops from Greece in an attempt to save CRETE from being seized by the Germans. Until the enemy appeared, this beautiful island, with its stalwart and friendly people, was absolute heaven to men from the deserts of Africa. When they came, parachutists descended like nightmare snowstorms—thousands at a time. The Jocks potted hundreds of them, as they drifted down and as they picked themselves up and began to assemble. They remained quite contented with their daily shoot, and an ingenious officer of the BW obtained some useful supplies from the enemy by learning to copy their dropping signals. But, with landings occurring punctually at nine o'clock every morning, the island gradually became too full of Germans, and the troops (except some who were cut off), were evacuated with considerable difficulty by the Navy. The voyage to Egypt, under constant bombing attacks, was far worse than the fighting in the island, and the casualties were much more serious.

In all, about 30,000 men returned out of 60,000 sent on these two expeditions.

To add to these failures, affairs in Africa received a serious setback, as a direct result of them. The Germans came across from Italy and attacked with armoured divisions, forcing Wavell's depleted army back to the Egyptian frontier, leaving only TOBRUK holding out in enemy territory. A brigade of 7th AUSTRALIAN DIVISION formed part of the garrison, and among the relief troops, sent by sea in October, was 2/BW, which had served in the SYRIAN CAMPAIGN during the interval since the evacuation of Crete, in June.

The force in the Western Desert was like a spring which the enemy was able to compress when it was weak and which, at other times became too powerful for him and extended itself, forcing him back. Again in November 1941 there was an advance, under General Auchinleck, in which the 1ST SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISION took part, but the 'spring' became fully extended at EL AGHEILA, on the Gulf of Sirte. As part of this operation, the BLACK WATCH took part, on 20th November, in a hazardous attempt to break out from Tobruk and join the advancing 8th Army. The overall plan went wrong, but they put up an extremely fine show, and had nearly 500 casualties. Two days later, within a few miles of Tobruk, the 5th SOUTH AFRICAN BRIGADE was overrun by German tanks and infantry, at SIDI REZEGH, and the 3rd TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH was destroyed, after putting up a tough though bewildered fight. Eventually Rommel's sustained counter-attack pushed the British back to the GAZALA–BIR HAKEIM LINE, after which there was a pause while both sides dug, wired and mined with ferocious energy.

In June 1941, Germany atacked RUSSIA, thus involving herself in an enterprise which later developed into something like Napoleon's Moscow campaign. Then in December, Japan forced America into the war by treacherously attacking PEARL HARBOUR, Hawaii and Manilla. The Japs have been described as 'the Germans of the East' and, like them, were fully prepared and organized for the destruction of all their neighbours. Their sudden outburst had similar effects on the British to those caused by Germany in the West, and now Australia and New Zealand were directly menaced. (AUSTRALIAN SCOTTISH units had not been allowed to go to Africa as battalions, but only to send drafts. However, as will be seen, some of them were sent as units to other areas to deal with the widespread Japanese menace.)

Japanese troops were already in Indo-China, and almost immediately they invaded MALAYA. There was a large garrison at SINGAPORE which, at a cost of £60,000,000 was supposed to have become the Gibraltar of the Far East, and it was fully expected that, if it came to the worst, this at least could be held. Among these troops were

2/GORDONS, 2/A & SH, 155th FIELD REGIMENT, R.A. (LANARKSHIRE YEOMANRY), and the 8th AUSTRALIAN DIVISION.

The first disconcerting shock was the sinking of the battleship *Prince of Wales* and the battle cruiser *Repulse*, and from then events moved with unexpected rapidity. The second tragedy was that none of the people in authority seem to have expected the 'Nips', as the Australians called them (obviously derived from Nippon) to be able to do what they did. They were supposed to be all short-sighted, bandylegged, weedy little men, with teeth like a horse when he curls his lips, and the idea of their leaving the roads and attacking through the solid Malayan jungle was hardly worth taking seriously.

The result of this underrating was shattering. As they advanced down the peninsula, Australians and other troops were sent North to drive them back. But they met a thoroughly organized and overwhelming invasion, and were forced to fight a rearguard action for something like 200 miles, through jungle, rubber estates, and paddy fields, with enemy aircraft and tanks menacing all the roads, until they reached the causeway which led across the Johore Strait to Singapore Island. Their transport was guided along this, at night, by men sent out to meet them, who stood at intervals on each side, drawing gently on cigarettes shielded by their hands, so as to give a faint light which would be invisible to aircraft.

The 93rd HIGHLANDERS, the only regiment which had been thoroughly trained in jungle warfare, had an even more sticky time in covering the withdrawal of frontier posts as far as 500 miles from Singapore, and were beaten-up by tanks at Slim River. About 100 returned, and with some ROYAL MARINES, formed a composite battalion which was immediately named the 'Plymouth Argylls'. They continued the fight, until Singapore fell, after the Japs had captured the main water supply. Even then two wily Jocks avoided capture and kept their freedom until the British came back four years later.

The loss of Singapore was a disaster which deeply shocked everyone, and in a short time the Japs had all Malaya, Burma, Hong-Kong (where 2/RS was wiped out), Java and all the important islands in the Pacific, and their aircraft got as far as raiding Darwin, in Australia. Most of the Singapore Garrison, as prisoners, suffered years of savage treatment by the Japs, who murdered some, tortured many, and worked others to death building the Burma railway.

The Japs in BURMA were a serious threat to India and, to keep them under supervision until they could be properly dealt with, a system of 'long-range penetration' was organized by Major-General Orde Charles Wingate (later killed in an air crash in Burma), whose daring troops became known as 'THE CHINDITS'. These regiments

worked in self-contained columns, each about 400 strong, whose only source of supply was by air—Wingate's private air force, presented to him by President Roosevelt. They were trained to live almost like jungle animals, moving unseen and unheard, behind and among the enemy, cutting off and destroying small parties, shooting up HQ's, demolishing ammunition dumps, and sometimes assembling to brigade strength or more for causing unusual damage. There were six brigades employed, with great success, and glider-borne operations were included in their repertoire. 1/RS, 2/KOSB, 1/CAMERONIANS, 8th and 9th GORDONS, and 1/CAMERONS, all served in Burma, in various campaigns which continued until 1945. Colonel Spencer Chapman of SEAFORTH organized successful activities in Malaya, similar to those of the Chindits, but on a more individualist scale, with small resources. His regiment went again to its old hunting-grounds in JAVA, and there caused much sorrow to the 'Nips'.

In 1942 the 1st and 2nd ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS, the 1st CITY, and a detachment of the PRETORIA HIGHLANDERS took part in an expedition to MADAGASCAR, where they dealt with Vichy French, Creoles and Malgaches, and forestalled the Japs. Conditions were not too pleasant—jungles, swamps, great heat, and plagues of anopheles, and other insect pests. There were also thousands of bush-rats, which devoured boots and kit and might have eaten the tents too, but for numerous long, brilliantly-coloured snakes, which were encouraged to lie in wait for them.

While the Eastern war inflicted fresh disasters, and additional strains on British resources, the war in NORTH AFRICA continued to be 'hotted up'. On 2nd June 1942 Rommel attacked the GAZALA–BIR HAKEIM LINE. The French made a magnificent stand for eleven days at B.H., and then the pressure on the whole line became too great. At this point South Africa suffered her worst disaster. A force under Major-General Klopper was hastily sent to hold TOBRUK, at all costs, but with an expectation that 8th Army armoured and other units would be able to prevent any attack from the East side. The perimeter was thirty-three miles long, and during its recent undisturbed occupation, tank ditches had silted up, wire had been cut for access roads, and mines removed for use elsewhere. As the fighting continued in the desert, Rommel's superior armour forced the British back, isolating Tobruk, which he was then able to attack with a strong force of infantry and tanks, supported by bombing. Klopper was short of anti-tank guns and had no air support, and the Germans broke through the perimeter and fanned out inside, and some tanks got into the town. Within thirty-six hours Klopper decided that the situation was hopeless and surrendered—to the astonishment and rage of South African and other troops who had

been by-passed by the enemy without being involved in serious fighting. The survivors of 2/CAMERONS, who fought on for another twenty-four hours, and 2/TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH were among the very considerable force which went out of circulation for the remainder of the war.

In the same month the 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION joined the 8th Army. Rommel continued his smashing attacks, and a sort of 'last stand' was made on a prepared line from El Alamein, on the coast, to the impassable Qattara Depression, about forty miles to the south. Sporadic fighting continued in this area for several months, while both sides strengthened their positions.

During this comparative lull in the desert war, came the first sign of offensive action across the Channel, from the land forces in England, which unfortunately was not a promising beginning. Operation 'Jubilee', several times postponed, and eventually carried out on 19th August 1942, was the Canadian raid on DIEPPE, which went all wrong, through no fault of the troops. Some German coastal boats were encountered, as the landing-craft ploughed their way across in the early hours, and doubtless they roused the 'Atlantic Wall' to immediate readiness. No. 3 Commando, whose job was to knock out some important batteries, was intercepted, and only one boatload arrived. Air cover was provided and the first landing was made, according to plan, at 0520. The men got through two lines of wire, but were held up at the sea wall by concentrated artillery, mortar and machine-gun fire, and few got into the town. Craft still coming in were attacked from the air and by gunfire, the tanks were landed too late, ammunition supplies ran low, and other arrangements miscarried. As the intention had been a 'tip and run' raid, and all chances of a surprise had gone, the landings were stopped and as many as possible of the men on shore were taken off, while the state of the tide permitted.

Out of 5,000 troops, about 1,000 were killed and 2,000 were captured, many of them wounded. The ESSEX SCOTTISH embarked 32 officers and 521 other ranks, and 2 officers and 49 other ranks returned. Other Scottish units involved were the CAMERONS OF WINNIPEG, and detachments of the BLACK WATCH OF CANADA, the TORONTO SCOTTISH and the CALGARY HIGHLANDERS. The affair was naturally a bitter disappointment to the Canadians, after their long period of training in England and waiting to be sent on active service, but later, when they realized that the lessons of their unfortunate experience saved many thousands of lives in the subsequent large-scale landings, and made a definite contribution to their success, they felt it had at least been a worthwhile sacrifice.

Meanwhile some silent work had been proceeding in Africa. At 2130 hours on 23rd October 1942, the desert moon paled suddenly,

as flashes leapt simultaneously from six miles of British guns standing at average intervals of twenty-three yards on the ALAMEIN line, and for twenty minutes a shattering roar continued as the gunners loaded and fired at competition speed. Shells rustled past the stars in thousands and, in front, the sand rose up in flickering clouds. The British minefields had already been gapped, and at 2200 hours the infantry advanced, behind a barrage. The English lads, many in action for the first time, were singing country songs (their equivalent of 'The Black Bear'), as they walked steadily behind the wall of smoke and thunder. With and among them were the 51st (HIGHLAND), 1st SOUTH AFRICAN, 9th AUSTRALIAN and 2nd NEW ZEALAND DIVISIONS, the pipes of the Scottish units calling high and clear above the din. All were out for blood and an end to this Rommel business and, with rifle, bayonet, mortar, machine-gun, and grenade, they killed or wounded five times as many Germans and Italians as the number of casualties they suffered. For nine days the battle went on—bayonet charges, machine-gun duels, artillery 'stonks', air attacks, counter-attacks, clearing enemy minefields, and then, the roar of tank brigades passing at speed through the gaps. Crusaders, and American Shermans and Grants, now at last in sufficient numbers, manned by Dragoons (GREYS), Hussars, Lancers and Yeomen, sought out Rommel's armour. On the tenth day, at AQQAQIR, the climax came and, in a thunderous battle of flaming juggernauts, darkened by its own sandstorm, most of the enemy tanks were pounded into scrap iron (260 wrecks were counted). Still the infantry went on—BLACK WATCH, GORDONS, SEAFORTHS, CAMERONS, and ARGYLLS, Highland Territorials, thinking of St. Valery, Scots from Australia, Scots from South Africa with bitter memories of Tobruk—all had one idea—the time had come to kill more Germans than ever before. As one Jock put it, after disposing of several, they had to be made to see 'the seeriousness o' the poseetion'. Eventually Rommel's troops were divided and in full retreat, and Italian and German prisoners came streaming to the rear. General Alexander, as C.-in-C., with General Montgomery as 8th Army Commander, had organized all this in secret, and had changed the course of the war.

Alamein and STALINGRAD (three months later) marked the limits of the 'Herrenvolk's' abominable aggressions, and from then on they were to be gradually hounded back on to their own land. Those in Africa were given no rest and were driven out of one position after another, right along the coast to TUNIS, which was reached in May 1943, and from then, only prisoners remained south of the Mediterranean—290,000 of them taken in the final campaign. Before this had ended the 1st ARMY had landed along the NORTH-WEST COAST OF AFRICA and in some places had had to deal with opposition

from Vichy French, but now the coast was clear from the straits of Gibraltar to Syria, and the ordeals of the convoys and of MALTA, the George Cross Island, were ending.

About this time 4/BW, in Gibraltar, were involved in a humorous incident which is worth recording. A sentry arrested a civilian who appeared to be taking interest in his surroundings, and he was put in the guardroom. For an hour or two no one was impressed by his vigorous protests, nor by his saying he was a General, that his name was Eisenhower, and he was wearing mufti for security reasons. The guard commander did report that an arrested civilian was very much annoyed, but his release and the concurrent apologies were considerably delayed! Fortunately 'Ike' has a good sense of humour and he was soon laughing about this episode.

Had the enemy succeeded in getting Egypt they would soon have been able to join hands with their Eastern ally and would all have had a happy time sharing out the property of others—until they quarrelled. But as events turned out the war was more or less kept in two separate compartments. America and the British Empire were, of course, vitally interested in both hemispheres, but the Eastern war was right on the doorstep of Australia. So the 1st AUSTRALIAN CORPS was moved from M.E.F. to NEW GUINEA in 1942, and the 9th AUSTRALIAN DIVISION left for the same destination in 1943, and many other units and formations fought against the Japs in the islands the Far East. The 27th BATTALION (THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SCOTTISH REGIMENT), served in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and the 16th (the CAMERON HIGHLANDERS OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA) went to New Britain in 1944, and later, after large-scale operations in the Wide Bay area, it went to Rabaul to guard Japanese prisoners. The 30th (NEW SOUTH WALES SCOTTISH REGIMENT) went to New Guinea early in 1944, where it co-operated with American troops and disposed of a number of 'Nips' during active service which lasted until 14 August 1945. All this was mainly jungle warfare, which involved special training, and operating under tropical conditions, among steamy swamps, and dense forests, infested by lurking Japs, crossing swift rivers and mountains, accompanied all the time by the usual insect and reptile pests, malaria, and typhus. The other two Scottish units—the 5th (VICTORIAN SCOTTISH REGIMENT) and the 41st (BYRON REGIMENT) were kept on coast defence against a possible invasion, but many men from all of them served with other units in M.E.F. and elsewhere. The 1st NEW ZEALAND SCOTTISH served in New Caledonia, a company went to M.E.F., and many individuals joined other units serving overseas, but to their great disappointment they were not allowed to proceed on active service as a regiment.

Two months after the 8th Army entered Tunis and Bizerta, in

July 1943, the 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION, under 'Tartan Tam' alias General Wimberley, a former Commanding Officer of 1/CAMERONS, crossed the sea by a devious route (suffering so much from *mal de mer* that one man died of it) and formed part of a British force, co-operating with an American one, and an airborne force, to drive the Germans out of SICILY. This was done, with a considerable amount of fighting, the Highlanders advancing alongside the 1st CANADIAN DIVISION, in which were the 48th HIGHLANDERS and the PERTH REGIMENT.

At Tobruk the 2nd SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISION had lost two brigades. The remaining 1st S.A. DIVISION was also much reduced by casualties and, early in 1943, it returned home and was broken up in the process of a general reorganization. The effects on the South African Scottish units were that, owing to the difficulty of obtaining recruits two amalgamated war-time units were then formed. FIRST CITY/CAPE TOWN HIGHLANDERS, and WITWATERSRAND RIFLES/DE LA REY REGIMENT, and the TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH was converted to an armoured regiment as a unit of the 1st SOUTH AFRICAN ARMOURED GROUP and was equipped with Shermans. The PRETORIA HIGHLANDERS had been temporarily disbanded in Egypt and its personnel were drafted to other units.

The South Africans' next campaign was in ITALY, which was invaded in September 1943, only a few days after the capture of Sicily had been completed. The 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION went home after Sicily, but the Scottish units in this campaign were a fairly representative group. To mention only some, there were GREYS, SG, battalions of all the ten other Scottish infantry regiments, one of which, the 7th CAMERONS, had become the 5th (Scottish) PARACHUTE BATTALION; the LONDON SCOTTISH; the 48th HIGHLANDERS and the PERTH REGIMENT from Canada; Yeomanry—AYRSHIRE (RFA), LANARKSHIRE (RFA), SCOTTISH HORSE (RFA), GLASGOW (anti-tank regiment), LOTHIANS AND BORDER HORSE (armoured regiment), and LOVAT SCOUTS (trained as a ski battalion); (except for the Scottish Horse and Lovat Scouts, all had served in North Africa); and from South Africa, the FIRST CITY/CAPE TOWN HIGHLANDERS, and WITWATERSRAND/DE LA REY REGIMENT. The TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH managed to get there just at the end, after having trained drafts totalling about 3,000 men, at Barberton and Potchefstroom.

During the landings the 1st ARGYLL & SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS, temporarily known as 'No. 33 BEACH BRICK', and about 2,600 strong with the addition of numerous categories of 'odds and sods', had the job of providing air and ground protection for the recently acquired beach, organizing the traffic, and providing the labour for unloading ammunition and supplies. Afterwards they reverted to being the

91st HIGHLANDERS, and fought through the campaign. This continued until May 1945, and involved much heavy fighting and a winter which was unusually severe, for Italy. There was an anxious period while hard fighting was in progress to establish the beachhead at SALERNO, but five days after the first landing, Italy repented of her German alliance, and surrendered. However, this could not save her from the war, as the Germans remained there and had to be dealt with. Auxiliary corps, known as 'British Itis' were formed, and many Italians helped in various ways, to get rid of their former patrons, some of them risking their lives to aid escaped prisoners of war behind the German lines. The GREYS led the way into Naples on 1st October 1943, and another landing was made at ANZIO which again caused tenseness for a time. Then the fighting moved gradually northwards.

The country was a welcome change from Africa, in spite of the fact that near Naples there were flat-topped bungalows, palm trees, and bullocks turning water-wheels. The U.S.A.A.F. and the R.A.F. did excellent work, making a most thorough job of reducing marshalling yards and airfields to scrap heaps. Foggia, in one of the few flat areas of the South, possessed a railway depot which was well and truly bombed, and the inhabitants of a nearby town, noted for its immense numbers of churches, monasteries, and budding priests, were so moved by religious fervour that, at every street corner, they erected shrines to the B.V.M., in thankfulness that the bombs had fallen on someone else! The war moved on over orchards, vineyards and orange groves and then mainly over mountainous country, where white villages (some might have been called 'whited sepulchres') clustered on all the highest pinnacles. Some said this was done to be above the malarious mosquitoes, and others that it obviated labour in constructing drains. But it usually meant a long uphill trek, when the bells of all the churches rang and a convoy of bullock carts came slowly from the terraced fields, churning up what looked like gold-dust against the setting sun, and bringing the farming population, complete with 'bambinos', chickens, and implements safely within the walls.

The intersecting river gullies, such as the SANGRO, VOLTURNO, GARIGLIANO, and the RAPIDO in front of the GUSTAV LINE, were the scenes of bloody battles, and at the town of CASSINO, with its very ancient monastery (founded in 529 by Benedict of Nursia) towering above on a hilltop, conditions became very similar to those on the Somme in 1916. The houses were almost entirely reduced to rubble, and tributary streams of the Rapido, perhaps diverted by bombs, ran through the ruins, where snipers hid, and both sides lived in holes, able to move only at night. There were bombardments by the artillery of two corps, and repeated assaults by British, Indians, New

Zealanders, and Poles and the battle went on for two months. The Monastery Hill was the key-point of this bastion of the Gustav Line, and the building, which had become a fortress, was ruined by American bombs, but has now been restored. The 91st were there, and the resurrected 2nd CAMERONS and the South Africans were nearby. The war moved slowly—broken bridges had to be replaced by 'Baileys', precipitous roads had been breached, tunnels blasted in, and the country itself was good for delaying actions. While it moved northwards towards the TRASIMENO LINE, and the GOTHIC LINE, oxen ploughed round rusty, broken tanks in the south, and dejected villagers returned to their ruined homes.

Scots felt at home in this very highland country, and some of them took part in every important action, often with Americans, and sometimes under U.S. Generals. Besides large-scale affairs in which divisions were employed and numbers of guns ran into thousands, there were plenty of opportunities for companies and platoons to distinguish themselves. A notable instance of this type of adventure occurred during some confused fighting near the hilltop town of Chiusi, when a patrol of 'A' Coy., FIRST CITY/CAPE TOWN HIGHLANDERS found a ladder and put it up against the town wall. This was in the chilly dawn, and the whole company, rather indiscreetly, entered over the wall, to find one German who, when captured, told them the place was held by 500 men of the Hermann Goering Division. Suddenly machine-gun and rifle fire broke out at close range. There was an immediate deployment into the adjacent houses, and Major Bartlett, with forty men, occupied the cinema. Here they were besieged, by infantry and tanks, and held out all day against continuous attempts by the Germans to force a way in, to set the building on fire, and to blow it up. The end came when some shells entered through the roof, and brought the casualties up to thirty-two killed and wounded. Bartlett, with practically no ammunition left, then surrendered, and the Commander of the German division 'congratulated the survivors on their magnificent fight'. During the later stages of the Italian campaign the 24th GUARDS BRIGADE GROUP was attached to the SOUTH AFRICAN DIVISION whose members regard the battles of MONTE STANCO and MONTE SALVARO as the highlights of its Italian war record.

CHAPTER XII · 1944-54

'D' DAY. PEACE WITH MENACES. SCOTTISH REGIMENTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH

While Scots in Italy continued helping to drive the Germans northwards, those in Britain felt an atmosphere of suppressed excitement and anticipation, which increased as each month went past. The day after Rome was entered—6th June 1944—proved to be the long-awaited day when the results of years of closely-guarded planning and preparation, on a vast and multifarious scale, at last were to come out into the daylight.

The preceding period must have held very similar experiences for all the troops concerned—a general 'hotting-up' of training, including a special course in combined operations, a complete overhaul of weapons, equipment and transport, then a sudden move to a 'sealed camp', where there was at first a strict censorship and later, no communication at all with anyone outside. At the end of this incarceration they were taken to secret and guarded huts, to study photographs and large-scale models of the exact portion of the French coast which had been detailed for their personal attention. Then came another move, in lorries under the closest supervision, to the landing-craft which were to take them across. These put out to sea immediately, but made for Southampton Water, or somewhere in that neighbourhood, and then began one of those waiting periods which fill so much of a soldier's life on active service—all keyed-up and nowhere to go. It seemed a long wait (in some cases it was as much as thirty-six hours) but the men's conversation ran mainly on the cheerful aspects of the future, and they managed to pass the time without becoming unduly bored.

On the evening of 5th June the landing ships detailed for the first assaults moved to their assembly stations. The waiting was nearly over and each man, in his own way, felt the uplift of great events overshadowing his personal anticipation of a sticky time. 'D' Day, for 'Operation Overlord', had come. The tides were right, the weather was reasonable, and all the immense paraphernalia of invasion was ready. As Churchill said, 'We had the mastery of the

oceans and of the air', and there was scarcely a man in those ships who doubted the final issue, though each one knew he might not live to see it. The great come-back could no longer be concealed, and as the craft moved out, civilians waved from rooftops, hooters blew, engines whistled, and the navy, on whose skill everything depended, gave them a cheer as they passed each warship. Spithead and the Solent, scenes of so many historic expeditions, were a heartening sight, alive with shipping of every kind—battleships, destroyers, cruisers, motor-boats, thousands of landing craft and, in the background, scores and hundreds of supply ships standing by for the signal to follow up, and great mysterious floating shapes, which later proved to be the 'Mulberry' harbours. The air was alive too, with aircraft, and barrage balloons dotted the sky. Cheers and shouts heralded the approach of one motor launch and, as it passed, a familiar bulldog face could be seen, smiling broadly, and an up-stretched hand making the famous 'V' signal. The Hun 'had it coming to him', for all the unforgettable injuries and insults he had inflicted on the world during the last four years—as well as in 1870 and 1914–18.

It was night when the voyage began. The sea was choppy, and 'bags, vomit' proved useful to those whose stomachs, in spite of hyoscine tablets, would not keep in step with the heaving decks. Some time after midnight the whole sky seemed to vibrate with the drone of countless aircraft, as British and American airborne divisions, the vanguard of the invasion, passed on ahead followed up by 1,100 R.A.F. and 1,300 U.S.A.A.F. bombers, and soon the horizon was lit up and a continuous rumble came across the water. As dawn began to glimmer faintly, the thump and roar of heavy guns broke out, when battleships and cruisers opened up on the German coast batteries. Then came the trans-shipment into small assault craft, whose pitching, plus the thought—'This is IT'—produced a fresh outburst from the vomiteers.

The sea landings on 'D' Day itself were made by two British divisions—the 3rd and 50th, the 3rd CANADIAN, and the Vth and VIIth United States Corps, plus armour. Among the Scottish units in this force, which had the task of being first out of the sea and first to break through the outer crust of the German defences, were 1/KOSB, CAMERONS OF OTTAWA, CANADIAN SCOTTISH, NEW BRUNSWICK REGIMENT, HLI OF CANADA, STORMONT DUNDAS AND GLENGARRY HIGHLANDERS, and NORTH NOVA SCOTIA HIGHLANDERS. The experiences of units naturally varied, but there was a certain similarity too. As the assault boats went in to the beaches, destroyers and a variety of armed small craft moved in as near as they could and bombarded the German defences. Amphibious tanks were launched about 5,000 yards out at sea and came in under their own power.

They included assault tanks, mat-layers, bridge-carriers, ramp-tanks, flail-tanks, R.E. tanks, and troop-carrying tanks, and this variety of monsters coming literally out of the sea, after the air and sea bombardments, had a horrifying effect on the Germans, who expected only to have to sit tight and mow down half-drowned parties of 'P.B.I.' The fact that the Luftwaffe was almost prevented from appearing on the scene must also have made them think. There were mines and wire in the water and some of the tanks and assault craft were sunk by mines, or by gunfire, but normally the men had to leap into waist-deep water, wade ashore and go into action immediately. There were waves four or five feet high pounding on the beach, a variety of missiles passing over from behind, fighters and fighter-bombers busy overhead, German fire from in front, tanks on the move, mines exploding, and men being hit in the boats and in the water, all combining to make a bewildering scene of noise and apparent confusion. Then there was wire to be cut, minefields to cross, when possible following a flail-tank, and the enemy had to be dealt with quickly, before they could be reinforced. But it was all well organized, and faultless co-operation between the services, the preparation of every man for his job, and, most important of all, their determination to make a success, produced such excellent results that, apart from some traffic jams after the first landings, there was no confusion or hesitation, and the troops were soon moving inland, dealing with enemy resistance, and making contact with the airborne divisions. As they moved off the beaches more craft arrived, bringing transport and follow-up troops and, with almost complete protection by the air forces and navies, ships came crowding in fearlessly. The schedule of landings on the first three tides was 130,000 men and 20,000 vehicles, and Field Marshal Montgomery's dispatch said, 'Surprise had been achieved, the troops had fought magnificently, and our losses had been much lower than had ever seemed possible.'

This was an extremely satisfactory beginning, but it was only the prelude to the final act of the German war. While waiting on guard, before the invasion, the German forces obviously could not be in great strength everywhere, but now it had happened, they would, of course, bring up reserve divisions, many of them Panzers, and make frenzied efforts to drive the invaders back into the sea. So it was of vital importance to fan-out from the beaches and lose not a moment in clearing an area large enough to allow the landings to continue unmolested, and to make it secure against attack.

The battles of the campaign are comparatively recent memories, and they have so lately been chronicled in detail, in many new volumes of regimental histories, that it is unnecessary to say very much here. The main events were that a beach-head was established,

between Carentan and Caen, and was gradually extended, against fierce opposition, as more and more German divisions came in. The British fought long and exhausting battles against the Panzer divisions at CAEN and across the ORNE RIVER, and the Americans took the CHERBOURG peninsula and swung out towards Paris. Before the general movement towards the Seine there was another great battle in the region of FALAISE, a town which was taken by the 1st CANADIAN ARMY, as part of an attempt to encircle Vth Panzer Corps and VIIth German Army. These were caught by devastating air and artillery bombardments, while queueing in solid masses along the only roads left to them, and their losses amounted to 60,000 men and thousands of vehicles.

All this took time, and fresh troops, among which were many Scottish units, were constantly arriving across the Channel. The 153rd BRIGADE of the 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION, came across late on 'D' Day, and the other brigades followed. The 15th (SCOTTISH) DIVISION crossed in June, the GREYS landed on D + 1, and the 52nd (LOWLAND) DIVISION joined 21st ARMY GROUP in October. 1/HLI was in the 53rd (WELSH) DIVISION, and altogether six battalions of HLI—1st, 5th, 6th, 10th, and 1st and 2nd GLASGOW HIGHLANDERS, served in this campaign, three of them forming a complete brigade. The GUARDS ARMOURED DIVISION (formed in September 1941), went across in June. As regards the Yeomanry, the LOVAT SCOUTS and the 80th (SCOTTISH HORSE) MEDIUM REGIMENT, and the 2nd LOTHIANS AND BORDER HORSE were still in Italy, and in France were units of the AYRSHIRE, LANARKSHIRE, LOTHIANS AND BORDER HORSE, ROYAL GLASGOW and two regiments of the FIFE AND FORFAR. More Canadian Scottish regiments also came across—BW OF CANADA, CAPE BRETON HIGHLANDERS, ESSEX SCOTTISH, A & SH OF CANADA, CAMERONS OF CANADA, CALGARY HIGHLANDERS, 48th HIGHLANDERS, SEAFORTH OF CANADA, TORONTO SCOTTISH, LAKE SUPERIOR REGIMENT, PERTH REGIMENT.[1] So it must be said that there was an extremely creditable attendance of Scots, who served well and truly throughout this very hard campaign.

In August 1944, southern France was invaded, Paris itself liberated and the Allies were advancing steadily towards Germany. In September Brussels was liberated, and then came a pause owing to the difficulty of maintaining supplies from the now distant ports of Cherbourg and Arromanches ('Mulberry'). But the Germans were in similar predicament, owing to disorganization due to their retreat, and, in the hope of speeding up their collapse and ending the war quickly, an airborne attack was made with the object of seizing the bridges over the Maas, the Waal and the Rhine, in the neigh-

[1] All the Canadian Scottish units went on active service except the Argyll Light Infantry, which was not mobilized as a unit.

bourhood of Nijmegen and ARNHEM. The British 2nd Army was to advance over these bridges, by-pass the Siegfried line, and so reach the heart of Germany. But the plan did not work, and 'Operation Market Garden', in which 7/KOSB was one of the battalions of 1st AIR LANDING BRIGADE, ended as a classic example of heroic endeavour, which failed only because the ground troops were unable to fight their way to the bridges in time.

So the SIEGFRIED LINE had to be dealt with, and to do this, a nearer seaport base was essential. Antwerp had been taken, but there was enemy-occupied country between it and the sea. The 52nd (LOWLAND) DIVISION was assigned to the important job of clearing the approaches up to the Scheldt and, like their forefathers, in Napoleonic times, they made another WALCHEREN expedition. It was a long and difficult operation in which they co-operated with Canadian troops and Commandos, and the R.A.F. breached the Westkapelle Dyke to get the Germans out of Walcheren.

There was still plenty of fight in the Germans and at the end of the year they staged a counter-attack through the Ardennes. In the Nijmegen area, they tried to drown the Highland Division, by inundating a low-lying piece of country. Battalions of BW, SEAFORTH and CAMERONS had to wade to higher ground, but were provided with a surfeit of marooned beef, geese and chickens. While in this cold and watery area they saw the 'V.1' German self-propelled bombs, flying over towards England, and some fell on Brussels, causing a few casualties. Soon afterwards the fiercest battle of the campaign, lasting three weeks, was fought in the REICHSWALD FOREST and resulted in the crossing of the SIEGFRIED LINE.

A curious coincidence occurred at one stage of the operations when 1/HLI occupied the exact position held by its ancestors in Adam's Light Brigade, at Waterloo. It was not until 24th March 1945, that the British reached the RHINE, and the ensuing operation might be described as the Scottish crossing of this important river, as the 15th (SCOTTISH) and the 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISIONS went over on 'Buffaloes' (amphibious trucks), while the LOWLAND DIVISION supported them on the West bank. HLI OF CANADA, then under command of 51st Division, was the first Canadian battalion to land on the other side. There was a considerable amount of fighting after this, but German resistance was now breaking down and the speed of the British and American advance began to increase. As towns and villages were entered, in contrast to the scenes of rejoicing, with flowers and dancing, and kisses and wine, to which the men had become accustomed in France and Belgium, they were met by sour faces or empty streets (one reason being that the inhabitants had been told that the British would murder them all). Surrendering Germans became a constantly recurring nuisance, and scenes of

Hunnish bestiality, in its most despicable and revolting forms, were exposed at Belsen and several other political prisoner camps. Bright spots were provided by the delighted welcomes given by American and British prisoners on being released from their camps. The Russians were advancing simultaneously and the first British unit to make contact with them was the GREYS, who had driven eighty miles through enemy country with Airborne troops riding on their tanks.

On 2nd May 1945 the Germans in Italy surrendered and on the 4th Germany itself, and hostilities ended officially on the 8th. The Far Eastern war continued, and preparations were made for the invasion of Japan, but the end came suddenly and miraculously after the dropping of two bombs—one on HIROSHIMA on 5th August 1945, and the other on NAGASAKI on the 9th. On the 14th Japan surrendered and it was all over. These were, as everyone knows, atom bombs, and this dramatic ending of the war by their use, gives some reason for hoping that future world-conquerors may hesitate to begin another great war, with the prospect of these and other far more destructive weapons being used in large numbers.

Apart from these 'unconventional' weapons, the war had been fought more scientifically and with more 'support' than any previous war—massive air bombing of enemy positions, and aerial 'interdiction' of roads and areas, highly organized and concentrated artillery fire, more battalion support weapons—mortars, M.-G.'s, &c., tanks and carriers accompanying the infantry, and armoured personnel carriers. All this caused much more destruction, but casualties, on the whole, were not nearly as severe as in 1914–18, though of course exceptional losses did occur, like those of BW OF CANADA at May sur Orne, where it was nearly wiped out.

Even a member of the 'warrior race', (so described by the Chief of the South African General Staff), likes to go home when he has finished his war, and Jocks from Scotland and the Dominions, on service in many parts of the world, anxiously awaited the order which would send them on board a troopship. They would not have minded how crowded it was, or how long they had to queue for a meal. However, they found that demobilization had been carefully planned, to avoid a repetition of the experiences after the 1914–18 war, and the scheme worked smoothly and with reasonable speed.

But, as in 1918 (when the Allies did not advance beyond the Rhine) there remained a niggling feeling that there was not the finality which was necessary to ensure a good spell of peace. There was the regrettable fact that the destruction of three aspiring world-tyrants had apparently involved the building up of a fourth. Dire necessity had made co-operation with Russia essential, in spite of profound disagreement with her views on most aspects of life.

Cynical self interest seemed to be her keynote and the most self-sacrificing efforts to aid her never received more than grudging approval. The numerous convoys we sent were just one instance. Carrying supplies which were sorely needed by the Allies they battled through continuous air and submarine attacks, and arctic weather losing many ships, only to be received with churlish complaints and sent back empty. Then, as if to show that there was small prospect of agreement on anything, arrangements regarding the occupation of Germany were made as difficult as they could be, right from the beginning. Russia was stronger than ever, and wanted the world to know it. She had become well organized for war and the development of all her resources, aided by advice and modern weapons supplied by the Allies, had been speeded up, and, had she not beaten in the field the most formidable military power in Europe?

A further cynical fact is that the Allies have found it necessary to urge the rearming of all the ex-enemies so recently dealt with. A German 'Top secret' order, captured in 1945, said, *inter alia*, 'Our complete final victory seemed, until recently, so assured that we can prepare again, with high spirits and in good heart, for a further struggle.' It referred to 'this third and unavoidable trial of strength for the leadership of the world' and said, 'Manpower we have been able to find in quantities at all times', but 'to maintain the Officer Corps at its present strength . . . every officer has the duty of saving himself in an emergency.' The views of the 'manpower' about this might be interesting. Meanwhile Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz, a war criminal who stood his trial at Nuremburg, claimed to be Hitler's heir, as 'Fuehrer' or Reich President.

Another rather surprising development, since the war, is the speedy granting of self-government to many of the British Colonies and Dependencies. It was, of course, intended that this should come in due course, but it has been hastened by the storms of nationalism, socialism, etc., which have swept over the world, and when the guiding hand is removed so suddenly, the future is liable to be uncertain. The effect on the Army is a considerable reduction in the number of overseas stations and probably more home service in the future but, so far, there are still plenty of opportunities for travel. America's views are frankly opposed to Imperialism. But no nation has ever been half as generous as America, in pouring out wealth to aid in re-establishing order throughout the world, and it is evident that the prospect of any tolerable future for the human race depends now on her actions combined with those of the British Commonwealth. These two nations have equal need of each other's partnership, there is every reason for their friendliness to increase and, with blunt understanding on both sides, no enemy propagandist should be able to put anything between them.

After the war there was the usual inclination to demobilize everything and everybody, and it was again carried out almost completely, except for the regular regiments. But, in view of the uncertain future, Britain did a thing she had never done before—carried on with compulsory service in peacetime. This resulted in the regular battalions consisting mainly of National Service men and short-service officers, with just a hardcore of professional officers and N.C.O.'s, who spend their time continually training batches of new arrivals, and keeping things organized. It must be said that these men are excellent material, and have been a credit to the old regiments, but with modern weapons and mechanization, a soldier cannot be fully trained until most of his two years' service has expired. Things are very different from the days of 'Brown Bess', or even from 1914, and an infantry battalion which, in 1815, had to know little beyond disciplined drill and the use of the musket and bayonet, now has to be skilled in the use of all these weapons—rifle, machine carbine, pistol, light machine-gun, three types of grenade, two-inch mortar, rocket launcher—all platoon weapons—medium machine-gun, three-inch mortar, anti-tank gun, and flame-thrower—battalion support weapons. (These are likely to be reduced when the new organization for 'nuclear warfare' is settled. In any case the F.N. (N.A.T.O.) rifle, which has marvellous accuracy and rapidity of fire, will probably replace the Bren and the various machine carbines.) Then, of course, there are many types of vehicles to drive and maintain, and radio and other specialist jobs to be taught. The fact of possessing such a variety of equipment, plus the intimate co-operation with the other arms and with the R.N. and the R.A.F. which is now so essential, also make the necessary tactical and other training far more extensive than it used to be.

Russia, in addition to ceaseless use of the clandestine weapons of sedition, strikes, rebellions, cyanide pistols, &c., in all parts of the world, very soon brought all types of weapons into action again, by employing 'stooges' to make wars for the embarrassment of U.N.O. —the world peace organization which she had joined, and was able to keep in a paralytic state simply by using her power of veto and saying 'No' to everything. (N.A.T.O. was formed to remedy this situation.)

But before these wars came along there was a very sticky situation in PALESTINE, in which British troops were concerned. 1/KOSB, 1/HLI and 1/A & SH were there from 1945 until the British mandate was ended in May 1948. Britain having inaugurated the Jewish state in Palestine, seemed to be considered the legitimate butt for all the unpleasantness which arose, from whatever cause, and murders of British soldiers (often unarmed), who were acting as police for the protection of both sides, were considered highly praiseworthy

among a section of the local population. As the result of guerilla attacks and other outrages, casualties were numerous and 1/HLI, which was the last battalion to leave, had lost over eighty men in this way and earned ten decorations. For a time British troops were also employed in restoring order in GREECE, and among other units the 2nd HLI was there until 1948.

1/CAMERONS was the representative Scottish unit in the British force occupying JAPAN with the Americans, and later went to Malaya. The 2nd battalion was in Trieste before its disbandment.

The year 1947 was a tragic one for the infantry, as nearly all the second battalions, excepting those of the Guards, were disbanded, thus ending the careers of regiments, many of which had honourable records going back for 250 years or more. Their demise has not been accepted as irrevocable, and the surviving battalions cherish their traditions and perpetuate their customs. The GORDONS again say 'Ninety-twa no deid yet!' This meant the end of the Cardwell system, and has the effect of keeping the remaining battalions almost permanently overseas. When they do come home, it is usually only for a few months, or even weeks, then they go far afield again, or to B.A.O.R., which counts as home service. After this far-reaching change, regiments were formed into groups, e.g. the HIGHLAND and LOWLAND BRIGADES, which recruit on a pool system, with the result that if an officer or man cannot join the regiment of his choice, he is posted to one of the others in the group. The 51st (HIGHLAND) DIVISION and 52nd (LOWLAND) DIVISION have kept their identity and have now acquired quite a long tradition, having served in both the German wars. Their Territorial battalions are now largely filled with N.S. men, compulsorily transferred after completing their regular service, which rather cuts down that admirable volunteer spirit of the old T.A. But it is early yet to draw comparisons, and the T.A. will at least have more men with experience and a closer association with the regular battalions. The Dominion regiments, after a pause when their war service men were demobilized, have revived with full keenness and efficiency, and in Canada, service in the Reserve regiments, which is the category of all the Canadian Scottish units, is entirely voluntary.

The KOREAN WAR, which began in June 1950, was one of those Communist-engineered diversions previously mentioned, but it was certainly no insignificant side-show. America took the lead in showing that U.N.O. was not to be flouted, and accepted the responsibility for running the campaign, which developed into a large-scale affair. The British Navy, and contingents from U.N.O. nations, including British troops, took part. KOSB, BW, and A & SH served in Korea, a Canadian brigade group arrived early in 1951, and later that year, the COMMONWEALTH DIVISION was formed and

included units from all the Dominions. This was an entirely new make-up for a division, but, according to all accounts, it was an outstanding success from everyone's point of view, including that of the commander of the American 8th Army, in which it served.

The war against the North Koreans was almost won in November 1951, when Communist China came in and pouring in masses of well-equipped troops, seasoned in the interminable Chinese civil wars, caused a long and hazardous retreat to the South of the Peninsula. The fighting then and during the subsequent advance of the U.N.O. forces, was of a peculiarly fierce and relentless nature, as the enemy, with true oriental fatalism, seemed to have not the slightest objection to being killed. Modern weapons were in use on both sides, and in the battle of the Imjin River, their artillery bombardment reached the scale of 6,000 shells an hour falling on the position of one battalion—the KOSB. Enemy masses advanced through their own shelling as well as ours, and their fanaticism was unaffected by the fact that hundreds of them were being blown into mincemeat as they came, nor by the machine-guns and bayonets of the defenders. At one point the situation became so bad that a company commander ordered his men to keep down in their holes, while he called for artillery air bursts over his own position, as the only method of reducing the swarms of enemy. It was in this battle that 'Big Bill' Speakman, a BLACK WATCH giant of 6 ft. 7½ in., attached KOSB, won his V.C. A nineteen-year-old subaltern of the KOSB, William Purves, won a D.S.O., and after the battle of the Hook, immediate awards were made to officers and men of the BLACK WATCH of one D.S.O., two M.C.'s, two D.C.M.'s and two M.M.'s. Another V.C. was awarded to Major Kenneth Muir, A & SH, and according to C. & E. Jones, American Newsreel war correspondents, the men of his regiment could compare favourably with the Killiecrankie types. They describe them in their book *The Face of War* as, 'A fiercely proud and wild lot', speaking 'a strange jargon completely understandable only to themselves', and 'truly professional Killers, the cream of service shock troops'. Political problems had much influence on the conduct of this war, which, on the Communist side, was more or less fought by proxy, and to avoid spreading the conflagration, U.N.O. refrained from using atom bombs and from bombing Chinese bases just over the Yalu River, where enemy preparations were made in complete safety. In June 1952 U.S.A.A.F. did bomb their electric generating stations. Cease-fire talks covered nearly two years and fighting ended on 27th July 1953.

Korea was not unique as a trouble-centre, as the now familiar Communist technique was also put into operation in Malaya and Indo-China. Persia, Egypt, and parts of Africa have also produced very tolerable imitations, not to mention British Honduras and

some of the Central American republics. The GORDONS also went bandit-hunting in MALAYA in co-operation with their old friends the GURKHAS, and the CAMERONIANS also saw considerable service there. The method of dealing with the enemy consisted largely of using independent fighting patrols to cover large areas, and the technique of jungle warfare has reached a very high state of efficiency. The men's equipment was completely modernized, and almost every emergency was provided for, including scrub, typhus, heat-stroke, blasting down large trees, and making wireless and smoke signals to aircraft. The latter, including helicopters, solved the problem of dealing with wounded and sick, whose evacuation would otherwise seriously curtail the work of a patrol, and mean an agonizing stretcher journey (not a lot better for the bearers) through matted jungle and over rocks, gullies, and torrents. Instead, if things went according to plan, an Auster was called out by radio and given a smoke signal, whereupon the pilot told the patrol, whose vision was not unlike that of ants in a cornfield, the nearest suitable spot in which to make a small clearing for the helicopter to land. In this way a man's life was often saved, and the patrol could carry on unencumbered and probably 'flush' some more bandits.

Both Malaya and Korea, unnecessary as these campaigns may seem, have at least given good opportunities for research to continue on men, weapons, tactics, clothing, and equipment generally; not omitting a careful scrutiny of the enemy and his methods (which, in Malaya, included the employment of aborigines armed with blow-pipes and poison darts), and opportunities were not missed by the British or the Americans.

In 1954 the BLACK WATCH were in Kenya, joining in the hunt for marauding gangs of Kikuyu—a tribe which, years ago, was kept in good order by the constant raids of its more warlike neighbours the Masai, but which, under British protection, gained enough confidence to bite the hand that fed it. However, the majority of the Kikuyu were on the side of the law, and helped to hunt down the murderers. The actual 'Mau Mau' were those who had taken a foul oath to carry out the most filthy deeds, and they seem to delight in murdering women and children—natives as well as Europeans—using almost incredible methods of savagery and obscenity. Red hackles in the Aberdare Mountains were a novelty, but none could be more suitable than the 'Forty-twa' for reducing the numbers of these criminals.

GREYS did some training with Glubb Pasha's Arab Legion, in Jordan, and the A & SH went to British Guiana in 1953 and on to Jamaica. During their short spell in Scotland, they were given a civic welcome at Stirling, and were presented with new Colours by H.M. The Queen, at Holyroodhouse. The regiment was wearing

PLATE X

Left to right

1953
The King's Own Scottish Borderers
Sergeant (*No.* 1 *dress*)

The Queen's Body Guard for Scotland; Royal Company of Archers
Gentleman (*field dress*)

The Highland Light Infantry of Canada
Private

The Essex Scottish, of Canada
Sergeant (*patrol dress*)

The Scots Guards
Field Officer (*state dress*)

The 1st Anti-Tank Regiment, South African Artillery (Pretoria Highlanders)
Drummer

The Scots Guards
Guardsman (*No* 1 *dress*)

The Toronto Scottish Regiment
Private (*training dress*)

The Lorne Scots (Peel, Dufferin and Halton Regiment), of Canada
Private (*ceremonial dress*)

The 5th Battalion (The Victorian Scottish Regiment), of Australia
Private (*No.* 5, *general duty dress, Winter*)

The Royal Scots Greys (2nd Dragoons)
Officer
(Full dress was worn by a detachment during the Queen's visit to Edinburgh in 1953)

PLATE X

the green coatees of the No. 1 dress, and went through the solemn ceremonial as if they had all been old soldiers. Only Cruachan, the Shetland pony mascot, was not on his best behaviour, and pretended not to know his drill. He appeared again in the Edinburgh searchlight tattoo at the Castle, when GURKHA pipers marched with Highlanders and Lowlanders. By way of diversion A & SH had good fun as actors in a film depicting the exploits of Rob Roy and the McGregors in the eighteenth century.

In the Dominions Scottish units maintain the spirit of Scotland, as well as the keenness of Volunteers or Territorials, and zealously observe anniversaries of battles and important events, e.g. the TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH celebrated their fiftieth anniversary on 12th December 1952, with a big parade in Johannesburg, and the 48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA, in May 1951, held a three-day reunion to mark their sixtieth anniversary, which included the ceremonial trooping of a Colour, and a big church parade in Toronto. Many of these units have officers and men with service in Germany or Korea. South African Scottish units were threatened with some amalgamations, owing to a bi-lingual redistribution of the Union forces, and the TRANSVAAL SCOTTISH has lost one of its three battalions, but it is hoped that further reductions will prove unnecessary.

In this post-war period little remains of the spaciousness of earlier times, regular regiments seldom see Scotland, and conditions generally are quarter-way to those of active service. Arrivals and departures of N.S. men, besides all the routine work they involve, add to the intake and outflow of Army Forms, whose numbers and multiplicity threaten to engulf the battalion and company staffs, but the men who come and go are still Jocks of good soldierly types, so all is well—in a rather temporary sort of way.

Finally, one great event, the most cheerful and up-lifting of this period, must be mentioned—the Coronation of H.M. Queen Elizabeth, on 2nd June 1953, in which all the regiments had their part. Then, for a time, there was traditional pageantry and splendour, and a reunion, in spirit ât least, of all the Commonwealth, to celebrate a family event of the first importance, temporarily forgetting all the ugly facts and unpleasant people in the outside world.

Now, we have followed the pipes from Killiecrankie to Korea and a little beyond. It has had to be only a sketch, almost devoid of detail, and apologies must be accepted for the inevitable omissions. But it is hoped that, though space has allowed little opportunity for intimate details, it may have given some impression of the Scottish regiments and of their service through the many wars of the last three centuries. No attempt has been made to chronicle the courageous acts of officers and men which won them decorations, for the simple reason that, owing to the numbers involved it would have

been hopeless. Just to give some idea, HLI received 1,226 decorations in 1914–18. In World War II they received 211, CAMERONS 223, and BW OF CANADA 211 honours and awards. Two specially interesting distinctions must be mentioned here—the awards of the Croix de Guerre to 6/BW in France, and 12/A & S in Salonika, both during the 1914–18 war. This honour was conferred collectively on the whole personnel of these two battalions, and a strip of C. de G. ribbon was worn on the shoulder by all ranks. Such deeds inspire others and sometimes win battles, but the life of the average soldier is certainly not filled with spectacular feats of heroism. So the work of the undistinguished is equally important—the ordinary soldier who enjoys life when he can, and when bad times come, grouses profanely enough, putting in a few wisecracks as well, but takes it, grudging neither extremes of discomfort, physical and nervous exhaustion nor, if necessary, his life. These are the men who made the regiments and who maintain their unspoiled records.

History shows that Donald at Waterloo, with his 'Brown Bess', and Jock, in Korea with a Bazooka, were very similar men, and the vital point of it all is that the stock runs true. Whether it is a war of bows and arrows, or of hydrogen bombs and supersonic guided missiles, it is still the men who form the most important factor. As Marshal Bugeaud said, speaking of the Peninsular War, 'The British infantry are the best in the world. Fortunately there are not many of them.' Now, this applies equally to gunners, tank crews, and technicians of all sorts, and there are still not many of them, in comparison with their potential enemies, so they must continue to be the best in the world.

This is, of course, accomplished by putting the regiment first in everything—in fact, playing for the team, and, in certain ways, these old regiments remind one of something even higher than the team. They are rather like well-preserved mediaeval churches, where the congregations are always changing, but the fabric remains solid and permanent, often enriched and embellished in honour of the deeds of those who passed through, but never allowed to deteriorate.

CHAPTER XIII

BY LIEUT. THOMAS B. BEATTY, JNR., U.S.N.R.

EARLY SCOTTISH WEAPONS

One of the most interesting subjects is the 'Claymore'. Almost any man, even in a Scots regiment, will say that the word refers to the basket-hilted broadsword. Actually the Claymore was the 'claidheamh-mohr'—'great sword'—a weapon dating back to the early middle ages, which was wielded with both hands. There are probably not more than a dozen or two in existence to-day, as the true Highland Claymore is now almost extinct, though the two-handed sword of the Continent is still quite common. Originally the 'Claymore' seems to have been of Scandinavian origin, a relic of the days when the Scots did their fighting with Vikings from across the North Sea; before the Romans and later the English became such interfering neighbours.

Broadsword. Black Watch. Government issue (c. 1745).

A long, double-edged blade, four feet or more in length, a cross guard with the ends turned down and terminating in pierced quatre-foils, and usually a very simple haft and pommel, were the component parts, making a sword which, in the hands of a strong man, could mow down anything within reach, smashing aside the lighter weapons opposed to it. Even swung by a slighter man it was still formidable, but it was obviously best suited to the brawny types, like those who excel at tossing the caber and putting the shot at the Braemar Games. Its self-evident disadvantages, however, were its cumbersome length and

its weight when on the march, and the difficulty of recovering from a swing quickly enough to prevent an enemy, who had dodged the stroke, from spitting the swordsman with his more handy weapon.

The broadsword, which came into more general use, is called, in Gaelic, the 'claybeg'. Here the collectors enjoy another controversy, because some writers have compared the Scottish basket-hilt to the Venetian 'Schiavona', and have claimed that it is a development of the Italian one. This suggestion is usually rejected with scorn, but it must be admitted that the two weapons look similar at first sight, and only a careful examination shows the difference. The blades, however, were often fashioned abroad, and many came from the renowned armourers of Solingen and Passau, in Germany. The famous name of Andrea Ferara used to appear on them (like the 'Made in England' marks on some of the modern products of foreign competitors), but it seems to have been used more as a sort of Hall-mark of quality, than with intent to delude the sword-wise Scot into thinking his blade had come from Spain. The Scottish officer's sword, at the present day, is almost unchanged from the early broadsword, except for the plating, and the 'wig' of red silk with which it is ornamented.

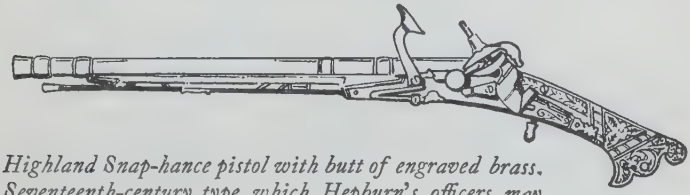
Lochaber axe, as carried by Clansmen of the '45 & earlier. Also carried by the Trained Bands of Edinburgh.

To revert once again to the more cumbersome weapons—the famous Lochaber axe, of halberd-like design was, like the Claymore, built for the hefty man, and both were still used to some extent in the eighteenth century. The hook was designed for dragging enemy horsemen to the ground.

All these weapons were normally of plain construction, and it was on the smaller arms and ornaments that the artist-armourer preferred to lavish his skill. The antique pistols of Perthshire, made by famous gunsmiths at Doune, are among the finest examples of this craft to be found in any part of the world, and are avidly sought by collectors from all countries. They were inlaid with silver, brass, and other metals, intricately chased and inscribed, and had distinctive butts of 'fish-tail' and several other forms. Their efficiency as firearms was equal to their appearance and they were usually worn in pairs, one suspended from the plaid-belt and one from a shoulder belt worn for this purpose alone. They were not protected by any form of holster, but were fully exposed to the weather.

The dirk is another interesting small-arm and survives as the

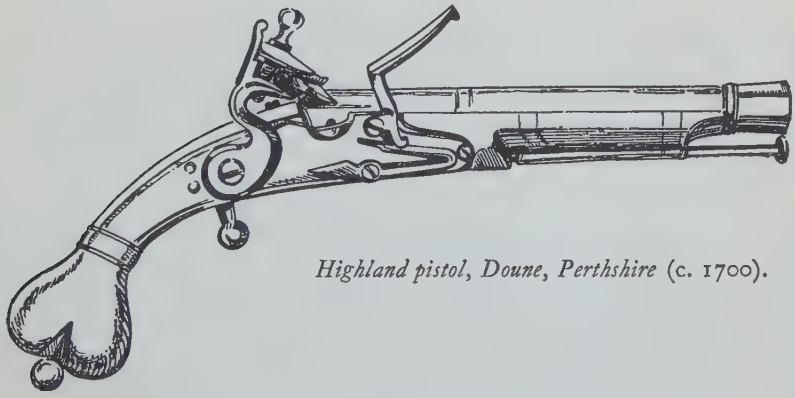
distinguishing mark of the Highland gentleman and, in the army, of officers and 1st Class Warrant Officers, Pipers and Bandsmen. (It is worn only in full dress, or its present-day substitute.) It has a straight, single-edged blade, originally supposed to be the length of a man's forearm, but restricted by regulations now, and a hilt shaped in one of several characteristic styles, designed to give a good grip as well as a decorative appearance. It was often elaborately carved in Celtic strap work, and in later periods adorned with semi-precious



Highland Snap-hance pistol with butt of engraved brass. Seventeenth-century type which Hepburn's officers may have carried.

stones. It was, however, never degraded by being put to utility purposes, and the addition of a knife (seventeenth century), and fork (eighteenth century), carried in pockets in the scabbard, gives a false impression. Tradition relates that the Highlander sealed his most solemn oath by kissing the blade of his dirk, which in early times was worn by men of all ranks. Morier's picture of Culloden shows Highlanders in a charge with dirks in their left hands (held under the 'target', ready for a back-hand thrust), and broadswords in their right hands.

The smallest 'weapon', the Sgian dhu, or stocking knife, is of no great antiquity, and is not really a weapon at all—just a utility knife

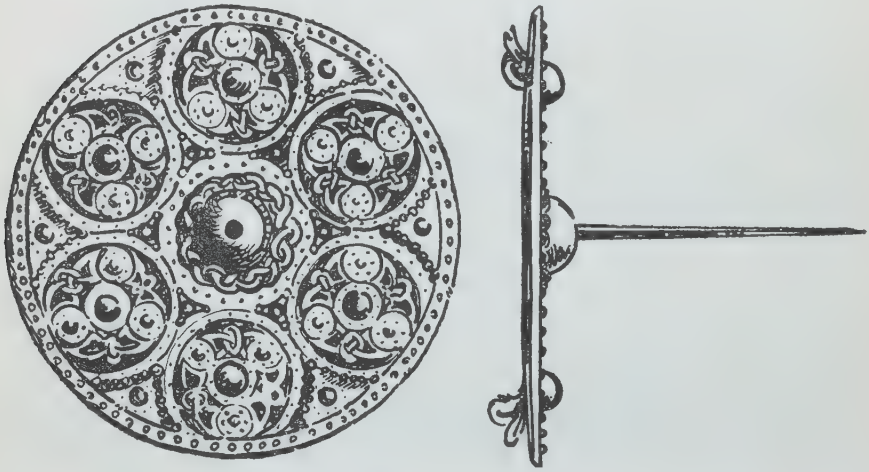


Highland pistol, Doune, Perthshire (c. 1700).

carried in a convenient place. Its most important service being the 'gralloch' of the red deer. It is worn, in the right stocking, by the same personnel as the dirk, which is also worn on the right side.

Other superlative examples of Celtic art are to be found in the handsome brooches worn on the left shoulder to fasten the plaid. Most of the antique ones are of exquisite workmanship, with which the often gaudy imitations of to-day cannot be compared.

The Highlander's 'target', referred to above, (from the Gaelic 'targaid') was a circular shield, about eighteen inches in diameter, with hand-grip and arm-strap on the inner side. It was often beautifully tooled and ornamented with patterns of engraved brass studs. It was handy and effective against swords, &c., in close-quarter fighting, and was used well into the eighteenth century. (Incidentally, its resemblance to the shields used by the Afghans, in the nineteenth century, is remarkable.)

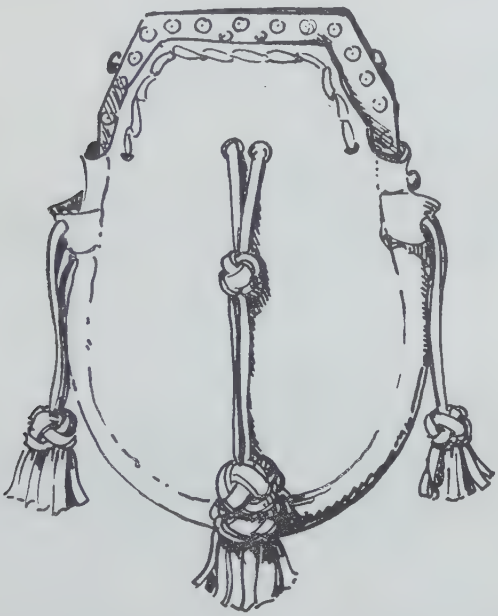


Highland targe (or target). Front view and side view showing the spike screwed into the central boss for action.

Even the prosaic powder-horn had its share of decoration, often being engraved as carefully as the pistols of Thomas Caddell, and in some instances its owner inscribed on it a verse or a motto.

The sporran was another item of equipment which received the attention of the craftsman. This was originally a leather wallet, worn suspended from the waistbelt. There were no pockets in the belted plaid—the main garment of early times, which was kilt and blanket-wrap all in one piece—so money, small possessions (pipe, snuff-box, &c.), and sometimes an emergency ration, were carried in the wallet. In later years its form was quite changed and it has become almost entirely ornamental, and is worn on a special low-hanging belt. Old specimens often have a brass or silver clasp, sometimes simply decorated with a series of punched circles, but frequently richly engraved. It is remarkable that it is very rare to find the

typical interlaced Celtic patterns which were so common on other ornaments. Sporrans of the earliest types were of plain leather, fastened by leather laces with ends cut into tassels which hung over the front of the purse in a decorative manner (shown below). The purse now worn with the battledress blouse and kilt has reverted (apart from the type of leather) almost to the original form.



Highland sporran (c. 1758). *Brass cantle found at Ticonderoga* 1941. *Pouch restored* 1942.

Most of the skilled ornamentation of weapons, &c., must naturally have been done by professionals, to earn big prices, but the fact that these crafts were able to flourish and to reach such high standards shows that, among the Highlanders, fighting was a part of normal life and a matter of considerable pride. A man wanted the best tools that money could buy, firstly because he had a skilled and dangerous job to tackle, and secondly because he had the soldier's natural desire to look the part, and felt that fine birds deserved fine feathers.

CHAPTER XIV

BY LIEUT. THOMAS B. BEATTY, JNR., U.S.N.R.

THE PIPES

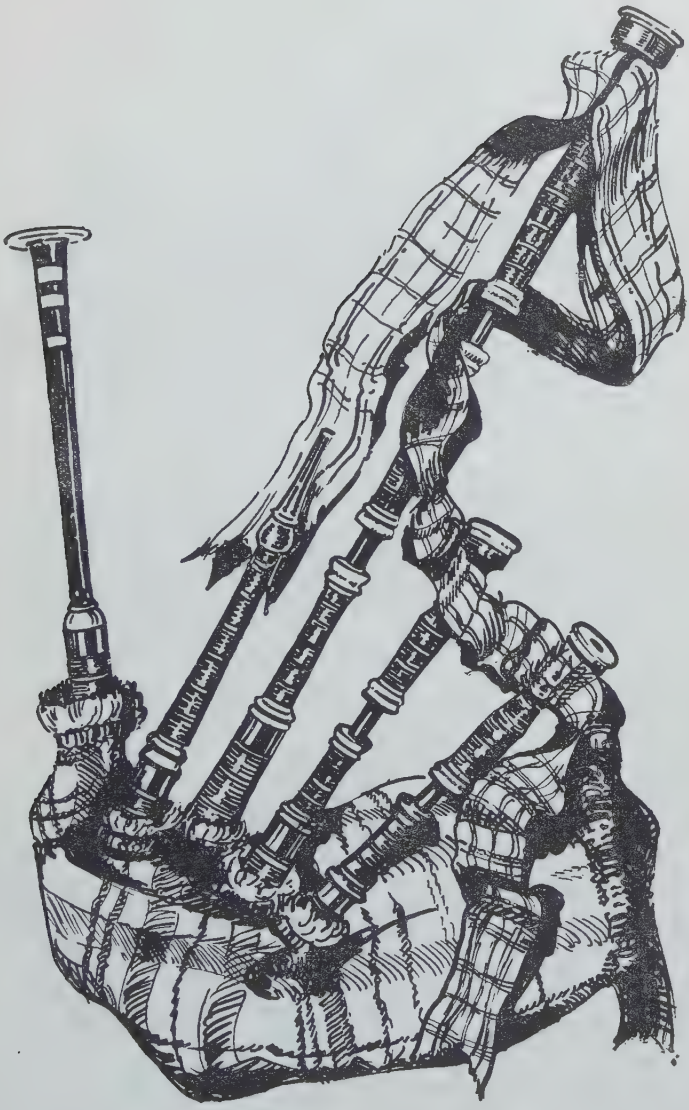
No study of Scotland's story would be complete without some mention of the pipes—the one musical instrument which has legally been adjudged a weapon of war!

Evolved before the dawn of written history, probably in Asia Minor, there is nothing Scottish about the *invention* of the pipes—the difference is in the playing. And there the Scot has surpassed himself and made a primitive instrument serve the purpose of a whole symphony.

In the words of Neil Munro: 'To the making of a piper go seven years of his own learning and seven generations before; at the end of his seven years one born to it will stand at the start of knowledge, and, leaning a fond ear to the drones he may have parley with old folks of old affairs.'

The army piper has had a very peculiar career through the centuries, for from the beginning the Gentlemen in London who 'lay down the law' in things military, have had difficulty in understanding the Scots' love of his instrument, deeming the bugle, drum, and fife sufficient music for the soldier.

The last remaining piper of Mackay's Highlanders, who blew a welcome to Hepburn, when he took over the GREEN BRIGADE in 1632, had to hide his instrument on subsequent inspection days, as, from 1633, HEPBURN'S REGIMENT (RS) was on the British establishment. From then on, to circumvent Headquarters, many pipers were enlisted, but carried on the rolls as 'drummers'—a far cry from the days of the old Chiefs, who listed the piper as fourth in rank in the clan. The earliest known Pipe Major was Alexander Wallace of DUMBARTON'S REGIMENT (RS) in 1679—and he, indeed, ranked as an officer—but the Royals were soon ordered to cancel that rank, and while the piper has had many ups and downs in the matter of official approval, his highest rank, pipe-major, is to-day like that of drum-major, the equivalent of sergeant. Before a piper can qualify for this rank he must be able to compose music as well as play marches,



Set of pipes, second half eighteenth century, taken to Canada by a piper of the Hudson Bay Company.

PLATE XI

1951

The 48th Highlanders of Canada

The Pipe-Major and a Sergeant

(With acknowledgements to *The Toronto Telegram*)

PLATE XI

Strathspeys, and the very difficult pibrochs. Pipers are trained soldiers and though the brass band may remain behind in time of war, they always go with the battalion.

In barracks and camp, the piper regulates the soldier's day. 'Hey Johnnie Cope' arouses him in the morning, 'Bannocks o' Barley' or 'Brose and Butter' call him to lunch or dinner, and 'Bundle and Go' may call to tea. Various other tunes, depending on the Regiment, summon him to parade. The duty piper warns the officers to dress for mess, and provides music for dinner, and on guest nights the pipe major and several others are present. 'First Post', 'Last Post', 'Tattoo' and 'Lights Out'—usually 'Sleep, Dearie, Sleep'—conclude the soldier's day. The pipers' duties vary from regiment to regiment, and there is, as well, considerable difference in the tunes played.

Certain tunes are indeed anathema to various units. 'Lochaber no More', the 'Lights Out' of the ROYAL SCOTS, is used only as a lament by all the others. At one time the CAMERONS' pipers would not play 'The Campbells are Comin', nor would the SEAFORTHS play 'The March o' the Cameron Men'.

The use of the drums in the pipe band dates from about the middle of the nineteenth century—before that the pipers 'went it alone'. Until, and including World War I, the pipers played in action, and there are many accounts of the heroism of these men. Earlier, the regiments of the Scots brigade serving on the Continent from 1582 to 1782 were well supplied with pipers, and they were in action in all of the Clan battles. The BATTLE OF THE BOYNE saw pipers on both sides, as did FONTENOY, where the Irish war-pipes opposed those of the BLACK WATCH in their baptism of fire.

But all of this merely repeated the deeds of bravery of the old Clan pipers. At the battle of BANNOCKBURN the MacIntyres, hereditary pipers of Clan Menzies, accompanied the Clan in the battle. HARLAW, the NORTH INCH OF PERTH, KILLIECRANKIE, and CULLODEN, were all fought to the accompaniment of skirling pipes on both sides.

Duties of the Queen's piper and the Chiefs' pipers varied with individual taste, and the regimental pipers' tasks are based upon Clan duties of earlier days.

The instrument itself, often an item of great beauty with its mountings of ivory and engraved silver, consists of four pipes, a blowpipe, and a leather bag which is suitably seasoned to make it airtight. Three pipes, lying along the pipers' upper arm and shoulder are the 'drones' with sliding joints for tuning, the sound itself coming from cane reeds inserted in their lower sections.

These three drones are tuned to a chord in harmony with the melody pipe or chanter, which the piper fingers with both hands.

The Chanter has a double reed similar to that of an oboe, and is capable of but nine notes—an octave in the key of 'A', with one note, 'G', below the low 'A'. The fingering is extremely intricate, for as there is no pause in the steady stream of sound, all passages from note to note are achieved by numerous grace notes, 'doublings' and 'triplings' which can be mastered only by long practice.

There is an old proverb that, 'A man's as proud as a bubbly-jock who's half as proud as a piper,' and this is very true. For wherever the Scottish soldier or sailor has gone, the pipes have spurred him on to greater endeavour, and if he was unlucky, played the lament at his grave.

CHAPTER XV

UNIFORMS OF THE SCOTTISH REGIMENTS—SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

As the Lowland Regiments were dressed similarly to English regiments until 1881, it is difficult to describe the uniforms of the Scottish regiments without including the general rules for the whole army. It will be seen, however, that the Highland regiments followed the general orders where they applied, with some exceptions, but only so far as not to affect their national dress—again with exceptions on active service. So it is necessary to describe at least the main changes in the dress of the Line regiments, and to treat the development of Highland uniforms as a separate but parallel study.

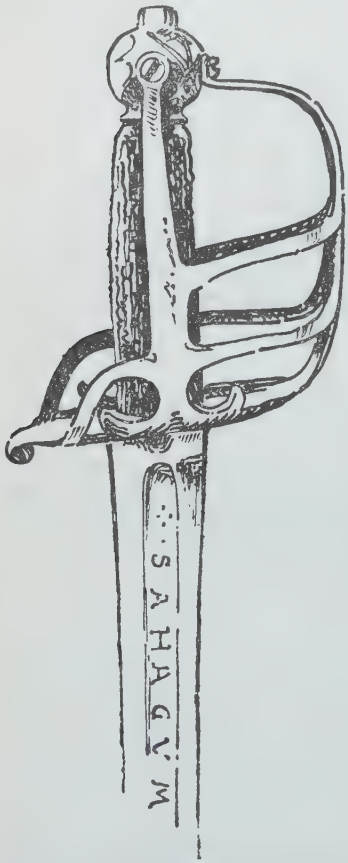
The figures illustrated have been selected to give as many varieties of dress as space will permit and this has made it necessary in many cases to show only one figure as a type of the Lowland or Highland regiments of a certain period.

As the records of the seventeenth century are so scarce and difficult to authenticate, and as there was little in the way of regulations or standardization, there is no purpose in attempting to go into much detail until the later periods.

The SCOTTISH TROOP OF LIFE GUARDS in 1660 (Plate II and Chapter I), were dressed similarly to the English Troops, and as the unit was composed of gentlemen who had been in exile with Charles II, all ranks wore the peruke and 'Other ranks' were more expensively dressed than those of the ordinary regiments. Their general appearance was highly picturesque and romantic, with much of the style and grace of the Cavalier period. The profusion of ribbons and lace and the long hair certainly appear somewhat effeminate to us, and, in comparison with modern battle-dress, entirely frivolous and futile. The battlefield of those days was a scene of display and ceremonial; but the fine clothes must have looked incongruous and pathetic in the aftermath—muddied, bloodied, slashed and torn. The dress illustrated would have been modified to some extent for active ser-

vice, the gold and scarlet coat being replaced or covered by a buff jerkin, and a black leather-tailed helmet probably did duty for the plumed 'beaver'. Perhaps a good, stout pair of breeches was also found more suitable than the beribboned 'panties' of full dress!

The main features of the full dress were the high 'beaver' hat just mentioned, the short jacket with short sleeves, puffed and slit and adorned with ribbons, which showed the frilled and pleated shirt sleeve from the elbow, and the large Vandyke collar with laced edge. The breeches ended above the tops of the soft buff leather boots and were also much beribboned. Front and back plates of armour were worn and the baldrick (sword-belt) was an elaborate feature which an officer's lady might embroider for him. The ribbons on the shoulders denoted commissioned rank and gold or silver lace was worn according to individual taste. There were no Dress Regulations to cramp their style. The horse also had its share of ribbons and happily the time had not yet come for the short docking of tails. It has not been possible to obtain an authentic record of the ribbon colours, which probably varied in each troop, but it is thought most likely that these were of the Stuart colours—red and yellow.



Cavalry sword. Charles II period.

The six Lowland regiments, shown in Plate III, wore the uniform of the Line, with no distinctive Scottish features, apart from the pipers. The Grenadier caps of the ROYAL REGIMENT OF SCOTS DRAGOONS (GREYS) (Plate III), who began their history in a uniform of stone grey, were a special honour won in battle (Chapter II), and the ROYAL NORTH BRITISH FUZILEERS (RSF) wore grenadier caps, like all Fusilier regiments. Every Foot regiment had its Grenadier Company, and Troops of HORSE GRENADIER GUARDS (one of them a Scottish Troop) formed part of the HOUSEHOLD CAVALRY. In each case these units were made up from selected men (in the case of Fusiliers, selected regiments) and thus the grenadier cap was a mark of special distinction.

The cavalry sword of the mid-eighteenth century, with its basket hilt, had a certain similarity to the Scottish broadsword.

The Highland regiments, of course, looked totally different from the remainder, and before attempting to follow the development of their uniforms it is necessary to mention a few points about the basic articles of their dress.

The bonnet, worn by soldiers and civilians alike, was of antique origin and was not unlike the universal beret of the present day, but varied slightly in size and form in different districts. The diced band is thought to have originated from threading a ribbon, of a different colour from the bonnet, through slits made for it, and tying it at the back, as a simple method of making the headdress fit and stay on. Later it became purely decorative and the diced pattern was woven into the material of the bonnet. It was usual to wear feathers of blackcock, vultures, eagles, &c., a clan badge (probably a sprig of some plant), or occasionally a piece of fur, on the left side, and to this was added the white Jacobean cockade, or the Black Hanoverian one, as the case might be.

Next come the tartans and plaids—both words which have long been misapplied. Tartan (Gaelic 'tarsuin') is the characteristic cloth of Scotland, woven in stripes, and dating from pre-historic times. The ancient Gaelic word for the 'setts' or patterns of squares and lines, was 'breacon' (chequered), but as none but a Scot would understand this, they can now only be described as tartans. 'Plaid'—a word often used to describe tartans—is definitely inappropriate, as it means not a pattern, but a garment. This was a sort of blanket, with very practical uses, which, in its original form, was known as the 'belted plaid' and was made from twelve yards of double-width tartan. To put it on, a man used to place his belt first on the floor, lay the plaid over it, carefully pleating the middle part, lay himself on the top of it, then wrap it round him, making it reach to his knee-caps, do up the belt, and pin up the open side of the overlap (on his right). He then gathered up the remainder from all round his waist and fastened it at the back of his left shoulder (so as to leave his sword-arm free). In cold weather, or at night, all he had to do was to unfasten the shoulder-pin and envelop himself completely in his plaid. It was also used, partly unfolded, to protect his musket and powder from rain.

A much later development was the 'feilidh beag', or 'little kilt', reaching only slightly above the waist, with the pleats stitched in the upper parts, which was worn when the full plaid was not needed. Most surprisingly, the idea of cutting off the upper part of the belted plaid, to make 'the little kilt', was attributed to an Englishman—Thomas Rawlinson. He was an iron-founder who employed Highlanders in Glengarry and Lochaber, and adopted Highland

dress himself. Somewhere about 1730 the thought occurred to him that this would be a great convenience and, in no time, the fashion spread throughout the Highlands.

The question of Clan tartans has been a much-debated one. It was further confused by the loss or destruction of so many 'setts' during the interdiction of tartan, after the '45, but the general consensus of opinion now seems to be that the careful tabulating and apportioning of 'setts' to Clans and families did not actually occur until near the end of the eighteenth century, when the use of tartan was again permitted. There is no doubt that many 'setts' had been traditional to certain districts for centuries, but the theory that they were a sort of Clan uniform seems now to have been quite discredited. The colours were produced mainly from vegetable substances, and this would have affected the predominating hues in districts where certain plants were most plentiful, e.g. where the yellow bedstraw flourished, there would have been much red in the tartan, and the bilberry would produce blue, &c., but the 'setts' could have varied widely, even with only a few colours. There is evidence that the Scots wore chequered garments as early as 400 B.C. and, according to Frank Adam, at some period there definitely was a tartan 'caste system', based on the number of colours allowed for each class. This varied from one for servants up to seven for a chief. (Evidently before the acceptance of social equality for all the members of a Clan.)

The 42nd, or BLACK WATCH, tartan is the one with which the Army is mainly concerned, as it formed the basis of nearly all the regimental ones, including those with Clan names. One reason why it became the recognized military tartan may have been that its dark colours gave the best colour scheme in combination with the red coat. The scarlet Stuart tartan was usually worn by pipers, and became known as 'the music tartan', but later it was only permitted to certain regiments as a special privilege, by order of the King. With dark green or blue doublets it looks very effective. (One might not suspect artists in the War Office—a most unsuitable place for them—but somehow, possibly emanating from the heraldic Kings of Arms, there has nearly always been a good appreciation of colour combinations in the designing of uniforms, Colours, &c.)

The remaining typically Scottish item of dress is the hose (Gaelic name, 'caddis', i.e. striped). These followed a more or less standardized scheme of diagonal stripes, forming a diamond pattern, the most usual being red crossing and mingling with white, but some were made on the tartan 'setts' with many colours. In the eighteenth century the hose were made of cloth and did not fit close at the top, but were tied in (without being turned over) by garters whose ends hung on the outside of the leg.

To come now to Highland dress in the Army, one must begin in 1739, with the raising of the first permanent Regular regiment, the 43rd HIGHLANDERS (BW) (Plate III).

Previously the INDEPENDENT COMPANIES each had a different tartan and it is believed that a uniform 'sett' for the regiment was devised by removing all the stripes of bright colours, and weaving one in which only the dark background colours remained. (The reverse process, viz., adding stripes of colour, produced regimental tartans for units raised at later dates.)

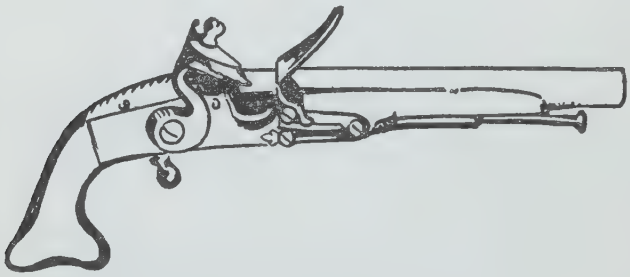
When Highlanders joined the Army, their dress underwent only minor changes in form and it was mainly a question of making the colours and the weapons uniform, by means of standardized issues of the required items. The most obvious was, of course, the red coat, which was cut short, on the lines of its civilian counterpart, as worn with the kilt. Instruction in wearing the regulation belts, purses, hose, &c., in exact accordance with orders, made up the picture. The Highland soldier, at that period, carried a very complete armoury on his body, his familiar broadsword, dirk and pair of pistols, plus a 'Tower musket', weighing about fifteen pounds, and a bayonet. In addition 'targets' were permitted for some years, but were not an issue. (A round wooden shield, covered with leather and ornamented with brass studs.) The normal life and traditional methods of fighting of these men would seem to have qualified them excellently for the rôle of Light Infantry, but this heavy equipment appears to have been a move in the opposite direction. Probably the reason there were not more Highland light troops was that the reputation of the Highland charge had so impressed the authorities that they felt obliged to use them as 'shock' troops, rather than as skirmishers. (Each regiment had its Light Company from 1771.)

Highland dirk, 18th century. Worn by Lieut. John Small. (Ticonderoga Museum).

Further changes, as the men became trained soldiers, were, the use of heavy shoes, or brogues (instead of the light, soft leather ones they had been used to in the hills), with polished buckles for full-dress parades; and correct hairdressing, with lard and powder, and tying it in a queue exactly according to orders—a most irksome process to all the soldiers of that period. 'Spit and polish', applying to all metal, black leather and weapons, was also a trial to men with unruly spirits, until they could learn to

take a pride in it. A final touch was given by the black stock and white shirt frills.

The earliest complete and official codification of regimental uniforms was contained in the hand-illustrated' Cloathing Book', of 1742. This showed, for each regiment, the spacing of buttons, type of buttonholes—plain, pointed, or 'bastion'—the pattern of the lace, the cuffs, slashes, pockets, colour of facings, &c. Each regiment had something peculiar to it—a point of far more importance psychologically than sartorially—and 'Royal' regiments were distinguished by wearing blue facings, linings and breeches, other regiments having red breeches, except cavalry which had green, buff, &c., according to the facing colour. The colour buff seems to have had a



Highlander's military pistol, 1739–76.

special traditional significance, probably connected with the buff jerkins, equipment, &c., worn during the Civil War and when the Regular Army first came into existence in 1660. Right up to 1819, regiments with buff facings continued to wear waistcoats, breeches and belts of the same colour.

The 'Cloathing Book' only dealt with the basic, or 'Private Man's' uniform, and did not record distinctions of rank. One of the main differences was that officers and sergeants wore scarlet coats and lower ranks red. In addition officers were distinguished by quantities of gold or silver lace, their swords, sashes, 'spontoons' (half-pikes), a shoulder knot, which had by now developed into a rudimentary aiguilette, and the gorget—the last piece of armour—now reduced to a small crescent. This was suspended by a ribbon of the facing colour, worn round the neck inside the collar, and was only worn when on duty (Pl. III, RS). At this time there were no crowns, stars, &c., to denote the various ranks.

Sergeants wore narrow gold or silver lace, and a sash (from 1745), and carried swords and halberds (Pl. III, CAMERONIANS). Corporals were only distinguished by a shoulder-knot of white or regimental colours (Pl. III, BW).

In Highland regiments the sash was always worn over the left shoulder by officers (never round the waist) and sergeants wore it in exactly the same way until 1855.

A general impression of the regiments, in 1742, is one of meticulous detail and unquestionable discipline. The Army had now become highly 'regularized' and its dress suggests that, after Marlborough's successes, it was regarded with much greater pride than formerly. Smartness and precision and innumerable words of command—each movement carried out in a slow tempo with exact timing—were a part of the methods employed to develop steadiness under fire and automatic obedience to orders. Though it was a period when it must be admitted that baths were an eccentric affectation, outwardly, at least, every man had to be spotless. Each

Silver gorget. Black Watch. Second half of eighteenth century.

button and loop must be clean, shoes bright, three-cornered hat clean and at just the right angle, hair correct, equipment clean and weapons gleaming. The GREYS were the first regiment to inaugurate the custom of pipe-claying buff leather equipment (Pl. III).

The soldier was supposed to be equipped for all weathers by the simple method of wearing a sleeved waistcoat which was equal to the modern jacket or blouse, and a coat over it, which more or less corresponded to a greatcoat. This was discarded for fatigues, &c., mainly to save the expense of constant renewal—parsimony was a notable feature—but battles were fought in full kit. In hot weather this can hardly have added to the men's efficiency, but perhaps it

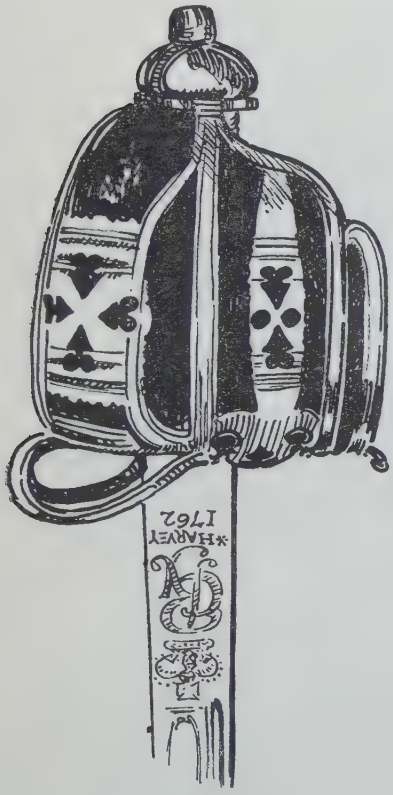
had some good effect by making them accustomed to one more form of endurance.

For some years men doing 'jankers' had to wear their coats inside-out, as a mark of disgrace, and in troopships regiments might have been seen apparently in coats of yellow, green, &c. This was probably done to keep the outsides clean, but they could have been mistaken for French troops (nearly always the enemy) who wore coats of various colours. The 'facing colour' was actually that of the lining, which was turned back at the cuffs, lapels, and where the corners of the skirts were fastened back to give more freedom to the legs, at the front and rear of each side, forming two pairs of triangles. Drummers wore coats of the facing colour, with stripes of lace and red facings, except those of Royal regiments, who wore coats of red or scarlet with Royal lace (yellow with a blue stripe) and blue linings. Drummers also wore grenadier caps in all regiments.

In 1751 Royal Warrants were issued making the details of uniforms even more definite and giving new orders about Standards and Colours. Up till then relics of the feudal system had survived in the Army, and the crests and coats of arms of the colonels were used on the Colours, grenadier caps and buttons of the men, as in the days when a nobleman's troops wore his badge and marched behind his personal banner. These were replaced by the Hanover horse, the Garter star, and other devices. One very attractive survival from feudal times still exists in the pipe-banners of the Scottish regiments which bear, on one side the crests or arms of the officers, down to Company Commanders, and on the other the regimental device. The pipe-major's banner usually has the Union Jack, with the regimental device on the reverse side. There had been a King's Colour, a colonel's Colour, and one for each of the majors and captains (at one time there was also a sergeant-major's Colour), painted or embroidered with personal devices, and numerous elaborate designs depicting rising suns, dolphins, cannon, heraldic beasts, &c., and their tinctures often did not conform to the facing colour. From 1751 there were to be only two—the Union (England and Scotland) as the King's Colour, and a Regimental Colour corresponding to the facings, with a central wreath of roses and thistles surrounding the regimental 'rank' or number. Regiments with white or red facings used the flag of St. George, with a small Union in the upper corner nearest to the pike, and those with black facings had the remaining three squares filled in with black. In the Foot Guards the King's Colour was crimson and the Union was the Regimental Colour. The union of England and Scotland in 1707 meant an alteration in the Colours of Scottish regiments, which had previously used the St. Andrew's cross in the same way as St. George's cross had appeared on the English ones. The SCOTS GUARDS had sixteen

Company Colours, bearing badges granted by Charles II, in 1650, which still survive and are now borne in rotation on the Regimental Colour.

Battle Honours were, in effect, a continuation of the ancient heraldic system by which the King granted 'augmentations of honour' to be placed on the shields of gentlemen in recognition of exceptional service. As an instance—Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, later Duke of Norfolk, was granted an escutcheon of the Scottish arms (the Lion being only half shown and pierced through the mouth with an arrow), to be added to his shield, in memory of his victory over James IV of Scotland, at Flodden in 1513. Sir Thomas Lane, of King's Bromley, was allowed to place the lions of England on his shield, for his sister's help to Charles II, in aiding his escape after the battle of Worcester, and the Churchill arms bear an added escutcheon charged with the arms of France upon St. George's cross, which was granted to Marlborough by Queen Anne. Major T. J. Edwards says that the first battle honour to be placed on a Colour was 'Emsdorff', granted to the 15th LIGHT DRAGOONS (15H), in 1768. The battle honour for the earliest battle, however, is 'Tangier', borne by the ROYAL SCOTS.



Officer's broadsword, 1762. (*Formerly in Lord Blythswood's collection*).

To return to the subject of uniforms, in 1768 there was another general overhaul and incidentally it is noticeable that the majority of these orders did not mention the FOOT GUARDS, the inference being that the Sovereign conveyed his wishes, regarding the troops of his household, direct to their Colonels. In 1768 the fur grenadier cap (Pl. IV), in use by the 42nd HIGHLANDERS (BW) since 1747, became universal, thus affecting the R.N.B. DRAGOONS (Greys), and the R.N.B. FUZILEERS (RSF). The regulation coat was completely altered, by giving it a turn-over collar, or 'cape', and narrow lapels,

and cutting it away from the neck to the knees, so that it hung wide open. The skirts remained turned back, as previously, cuff slashes were abolished and small, rather tight, cuffs replaced the large slit ones of the old coat, the sleeves also being made smaller and more like modern ones (Pl. IV, KOSB). Linings (but not facings), breeches and waistcoats were changed to white (except for regiments with buff facings), but the EDINBURGH REGIMENT (KOSB), then in Minorca, do no seem to have conformed. (Regiments quite often neglected to do so, if they could get away with it, and in any case orders usually allowed for finishing out 'part-worn' clothing.)

The short sword, carried in a double frog with the bayonet, by corporals and privates, was then abolished except for the Grenadier Companies, and spatterdashes were shortened to below the knee (Pl. IV, SG, 1801). Light Infantry continued to wear red waistcoats.

Grenadier Companies (as previously mentioned there were no regimental Light Companies until 1771), now wore 'wing' epaullets which fitted close round the sleeves, and officers' shoulder-knots were replaced by one fringed shoulder-strap for 'hat' Companies, and two for Grenadier Companies and the 42nd. Sergeants' sashes, to distinguish them from officers', now had a stripe of facing colour down the centre (Pl. IV and V).

These changes were gradually making the soldier's dress less voluminous and cumbersome, but there was a long way to go in this question and for the remainder of the century improvements only came piecemeal.

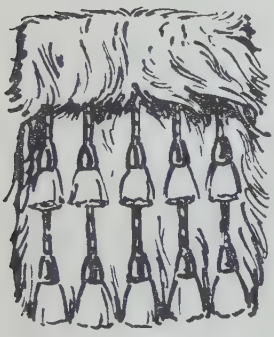
The partial abolition, in 1768, of the cutlass, as the result of experience in many parts of the world, was the beginning of a realization that in some cases the troops were impeded and unnecessarily fatigued by carrying too many weapons, and a gradual elimination of the superfluous ones continued. In 1776 corporals and privates of the 42nd (BW) ceased to carry broadswords, dirks and pistols. The halberd or pole-axe (replaced in 1792 by the half-pike) was never carried by the sergeants of Light Infantry, who carried a fusil and bayonet, and sergeants of Grenadier Companies did the same from 1784 to 1792.

In 1786 officers' 'spontoons' (spears) were abolished and in 1792 they were ordered to cease carrying fusils, which they had done on service for many years. (Keen shots might find their attention distracted from their duties.)

The evolution of the standard equipment also made some progress during this period. The old equipment of 1742 and earlier consisted of a waistbelt with a double frog for the cutlass and bayonet, a wide shoulder belt for the ammunition wallet, and a water-bottle and miscellaneous haversacks, worn in various positions. About 1770 the habit of wearing the waistbelt over the right shoul-

der gained popularity among Commanding Officers, and resulted in the cross-belt equipment being evolved, some time before the American War of Independence but, apparently this was not officially confirmed until 1784. It consisted of two similar belts, two inches wide, for the ammunition pouch and the bayonet, with a metal 'breast-plate', worn where the belts crossed and bearing the regimental number and other devices. The early ones were oval in shape, but they were replaced by square ones about the time of the Peninsular War. (The 42nd wore black equipment until about 1784.) At the same time officers took to a white (in some regiments buff) shoulder-belt with breast-plate, for the sword, which was now worn outside the coat, instead of under it.

A pack with a harness of two straps passing over and under the shoulders, joined by one across the chest, originated during the N. American wars (probably copied either from the Rangers or the friendly Indians), and was made of various materials such as cow-hide with the hair outside, brown canvas and, later, black leather. The haversack and a round, blue-painted water-bottle or 'canteen' were both slung on the left side, so as not to prolong the lengthy operation of loading, by causing a man to fumble for his ammunition.



71st Highlanders (HLI). American Revolutionary War.

The Light Infantry, which was first formed as a specialist corps in N. America, about the middle of the century, anticipated the Whitehall ideas of service dress by many years. The brims of their hats were cut off, leaving a small, close-fitting cap, the tails and sleeves of their coats likewise disappeared, and the long spatterdashes were replaced by short gaiters. All lace was removed and hair was not powdered. The sword and bayonet were taken into store and they carried fusils and tomahawks. Instead of the rather clumsy ammunition wallet, some wore a small pouch on the waistbelt and a powder-horn (from which the Light Infantry badges probably originated), and carried the bullets in small breast pockets.

This, of course, was service dress, sanctioned only by the Commander in the field and later, on Home service, their dress had to be smartened up. For a few years they even wore the Light Dragoon helmet, with its large bearskin crest, and officers of both the Light and Grenadier Companies, which became known as the Flank Companies, carried Light Dragoon sabres, some regiments adopting this custom before the end of the century (the 3rd FOOT GUARDS (SG) about 1793). For some rather obscure reason the use of hand-

grenades was given up early in the eighteenth century, so the match-cases (which used to contain the smouldering cord, or slow-match, for lighting them), on the shoulder-belts of the grenadiers, had become only a relic, retained as a distinction. The Grenadier Companies, however, were still composed of picked men and were used as specialist assault troops, sometimes being removed temporarily from their regiments and formed into composite battalions, for special tasks, very much on the same lines as a Commando.

Light Infantry wore a green feather and this colour in various forms has remained as their distinctive mark right up to the green beret of the present day. (Dark green, not Commando green.) Grenadier Companies wore plain white hackles from 1793 and a present-day survival of these is the white plume on the bearskin cap of the GRENADIER GUARDS. Another characteristic feature of the Flank companies was the large wing epaulets, which re-acquired their arched formation somewhere in the 1790's. Officers, however, did not wear wings until about 1800. In 1791, in the same order directing Field Officers to wear two epaulets, the Flank companies were ordered to place a grenade or a bugle-horn on their shoulder-straps. Light Companies of Highland regiments wore a thistle instead. N.C.O.'s of battalion companies wore small epaulets from 1786, which were mainly of regimental design.

Plate IV shows an officer of the 42nd in Canada, 1780, based on the painting of James Stewart, in the Scottish Naval and Military Museum, which shows wings at this early date. It may have been correct, as the 42nd was for long unique, as the only Highland regiment, and was in some ways 'a law unto itself'. In many cases, too, orders only confirmed something which had been in existence for years. The picture also shows how their dress was affected by active service, even the kilt being discarded on expeditions into the forest country, and replaced by canvas breeches (for O.R.'s) made from old tents. Gradually everything superfluous was eliminated until, by 1783, they were dressed and equipped almost as the Light Infantry, including the tomahawk or camp axe. There was even some attempt at camouflage, as all white parts—waistcoat, turn-backs, &c.—were browned and the dull red of a private's coat, after some exposure, was not very conspicuous.

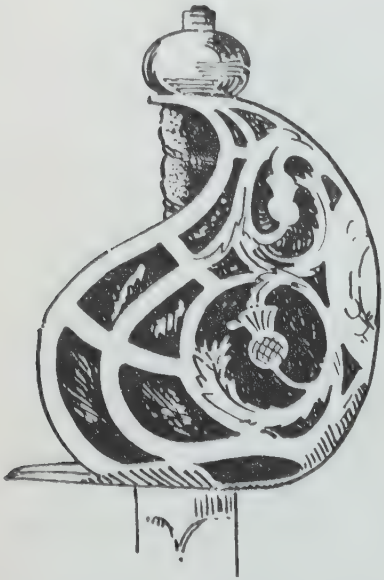
They did retain the Highland bonnet—almost the only remaining Scottish item. It's feather ornamentation was gradually increasing and after that campaign it flourished so much that by the end of the century there appeared to be more feathers than bonnet and it was well on the way to its ultimate full-dress form. The 42nd was granted the red hackle in 1795, and other Highland regiments all wore white with a red base (Flank companies plain white or green). The only other regiment to have worn a red feather before the 42nd was

the old 71st, FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS, disbanded in 1783. Following the example of General Wolfe, in 1759, the officers left their broadswords and pistols in their quarters when in the field, and carried only a fusil and bayonet.

Black Watch, North America, 1783. *Fighting order.*

A few more changes in the dress of the Line regiments bring these notes to the end of the century. In 1792 the first general issue of (grey) greatcoats was made. Previously a certain number of 'watch coats' had been on charge of regiments, for the use of sentries only and if a Commanding Officer thought it necessary, he ordered his men to carry a blanket, strapped on to the pack or worn horse-collar

fashion. The cavalry seem to have been better provided, as the GREYS had an issue 'cloackes' for six troops in 1706. These were red or scarlet until 1859, after which blue ones were worn until the early twentieth century. In 1796 the coatee was again altered by being buttoned down to the waist and, according to P. W. Reynolds, the officers of the 3rd FOOT GUARDS (SG) had long-tailed ones with reversible lapels and the O.R.'s short, single-breasted jackets (Pl. IV). Their uniform was similar to that of Line regiments, except that they wore lace down the centre of their jackets and round the tops of their cuffs, and sergeants had gold lace button-loops and gold epaulets. As in Line regiments only the Grenadier Company wore fur caps. The spacing of their buttons, in threes, dates from 1774.



Rubbing of detail on front of guard.

Officer's sword. 1st Battalion the Breadalbane Fencibles, 1794–99.

The dress of the R.N.B. DRAGOONS (Greys) developed on much the same lines as that of the infantry, except that Dragoons never wore lapels on their coats (not applying to Light Dragoons). They now wore the bearskin grenadier cap, with white hackle, a single-breasted jacket with white loops on the front, white waistcoat and breeches and stiff-topped black knee-boots.

The dress of Highland regiments was as shown in Plate IV. Some appear to have worn lapels for a few years after the S.B. jacket came in, and pipers were then dressed as the privates in their companies, except that they still carried broadswords. The belted plaid was usually worn only by officers after 1794, but a small plaid was worn by O.R.'s in full dress.

Scottish regiments now formed a considerable part of the Army, and the following is a list of their titles, tartans, facings, and lace in 1800.

Regiment	*Tartan*	*Facings*	*Lace*
2nd or R.N.B. Dragoons (Greys)	—	Blue	Gold
3rd Foot Guards (SG)	—	Blue	Gold
1st or The Royal Regiment (RS)	—	Blue	Gold
21st or R.N.B. Fusiliers (RSF)	—	Blue	Gold
25th or The Sussex Regiment (KOSB)	—	Yellow	Silver
26th or Cameronians	—	Yellow	Silver
42nd or Royal Highland Regt. (1/BW)	42nd	Blue	Gold
71st Highlanders (1/HLI)	Mackenzie	Buff	Silver
72nd Highlanders (1/Seaforth)	Mackenzie	Yellow	Silver
73rd Highlanders (2/BW)	42nd	Dark Green	Gold
74th Highlanders (2/HLI)	42nd	White	Gold
75th Highlanders (1/Gordons)	Gordon	Yellow	Silver
78th Highlanders (2/Seaforth)	Mackenzie	Buff	Gold
79th Regiment of Cameron Highlanders	Cameron of Erracht	Dark Green	Gold
90th Perthshire Volunteers (2/Cameronians)	—	Buff	Gold
91st Highlanders (1/A & S)	42nd	Yellow	Silver
92nd Highlanders (2/Gordons)	Gordon	Yellow	Silver
93rd Highlanders (2/A & S)	42nd	Yellow	Silver

Except in the case of the 79th, the tartans of all these Highland regiments originated from the 42nd or Government tartan, white and red stripes being added for Mackenzie, and yellow for Gordon. The 79th's Cameron of Erracht tartan is the MacDonald sett, minus three thin red lines, with the yellow stripe of Clan Cameron added.

CHAPTER XVI

UNIFORMS OF SCOTTISH REGIMENTS—NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century began with the troops still in full 'war-paint'—a little less elaborate than in the mid-eighteenth century and considerably more workmanlike—but still the red-coated lines with pipeclay and powder, bands and pipes playing them into action, and all the colour and ceremonial of the mediaeval battlefield.

In that hundred years the scene gradually changed, and at the end the old glamorous picture had faded out entirely, leaving one in which men in dirt-coloured clothes sniped at one another from 'fox-holes' and often the only sign of life on a battlefield was the rustling moan and the 'crump' of shells arriving from distant and invisible guns.

Shako, RS officers, 1812.

As regards the uniforms being more workmanlike—in 1800 (the seventh year of the Napoleonic Wars) the enormous and unwieldy cocked hat made its exit from active service, except for Field Officers. In its place SG and the Lowland regiments wore the 'stove-pipe' chako (Pl. IV). (The enormous cocked hat is not illustrated and the SG officer is wearing the previous one, of very moderate dimensions. It was about the period of the American War of Independence that the tricorne hat developed into a cocked hat, by being turned up only at front and rear.)

In Service Dress all ranks, except Guards officers, wore the short jacket, those for officers having reversible lapels. They could be buttoned back, showing the inner side, of facing colour with gold or silver button loops and hooked together down the middle, or buttoned across making an ordinary double-breasted scarlet jacket. It became the custom to wear them half and half, that is, buttoned across in the lower part with the points of the lapels turned back.

(The old coatee was often worn buttoned only in the middle part, SG officer, Pl. IV). The gorget was supposed to be worn when on duty, but officers were rather difficult about this, as the illustration shows. The O.R.'s jacket is illustrated on the two figures on the left of Plate IV.

In 1801 the Union with Ireland caused a change in the Colours, as the Union Jack now reached its ultimate form with the inclusion of St. Patrick's diagonal red cross on a white ground.

In 1811 the infantry took to grey trousers and short grey spats and in 1812 a new headdress (later described as the Waterloo chako) was introduced (RS, Pl. V). The cords and hackles were green for Light Infantry, white for Grenadiers, and battalion Companies had white cords and white hackles with one third red at the base. Officers' cords were of gold and crimson, plaited, with feather hackles, in place of the worsted ones of O.R.'s.

Breeches were retained for full dress until 1823 and SG wore the old long white spatterdashes and white stocks on ceremonial parades.

In 1802 N.C.O.'s chevrons were officially specified—Sergeant-Major, four; Sergeant, three, Corporal, two. The rank of Colour-Sergeant was introduced as a reward for exceptional service, in 1813. Pay was 2/4 a day and there was a special Colour badge (Pl. V). N.C.O.'s of Highland regiments, RSF. and Flank Companies, wore chevrons on both arms from c. 1830 to 1881, and all N.C.O.'s of SG from 1862 to 1881. From 1806, until the Crimean War, sergeants were further distinguished by having the collars and cuffs of their greatcoats made of facing colour.

In 1810 officers' badges of rank were: Field Officers, two epaulets, with crown and star for Colonel, crown for Lieut.-Colonel, star for Major. Company officers (except in Flank Companies) wore one epaulet on the right shoulder and no badge of rank (though there was often a regimental ornament on the epaulet). Officers of Flank Companies wore two 'wing' epaulets, with horn or grenade. From 1809 to 1829 Field Officers of Light Infantry and Fusiliers wore a peculiar arrangement of epaulets superimposed on 'wings'. Adjutants wore an epaulet on the right and a plain shoulder-strap on the left.

At the beginning of the century GREYS wore cocked hats on some parades, with dress as already described. On Service their blue and yellow 'housings' were replaced by grey horse-blankets. In 1811 they went into jackets as shown in Pl. V, similar lacing in yellow for O.R.'s. From 1812, 'overalls' were worn—blue-grey for officers, iron-grey for O.R.'s, and the sabretache was carried by all ranks. The O.R.'s sword-belt was of white buff leather, $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, worn with a girdle of yellow with two blue stripes (1811–27). The

old carbine belt, with pouch and swivel, was still worn, and the scarlet cloak. Unlike the infantry grenadiers, they wore their bearskin caps on Service. The scroll above the plate (Pl. V) bore the word 'Waterloo' but was only worn 1816–20. At Waterloo they had moustaches (though apparently not in 1816), wore short white gloves, and their overalls had two stripes of dark blue with buttons between.

In 1812, owing to very high casualties among them, drummers and trumpeters gave up their traditional dress for ordinary regimental uniform, later bands were given white coatees for full dress.

Highland regiments wore short jackets similar to those of other Line regiments and on Service they generally discarded plaids, sporrans and dirks. Pistols were no longer carried and officers of some regiments did not have kilts on Service but wore white or grey trousers or breeches, sometimes having these made of tartan. All infantry officers[1] wore Hessian boots and O.R.'s, including Highlanders, wore the regulation grey spats. The hose (cath dath, i.e. battle colour—red and white diced pattern) had a very narrow turnover (or rolled top) from about 1795, which showed part of the garter. The Highland 'scarf' or modified belted plaid was worn on home Service by officers ,and a 'fly' or small shoulder plaid by O.R.'s. The bonnet was developing two kinds of plumage—'flats' and 'foxtails'. Highland officers all wore two epaulets, with the result that subalterns received 'presents' from sentries and salutes from junior officers of regiments unaccustomed to their company.

In 1808 there was an event which was celebrated throughout the Army—the abolition of queues, clubs, and hair-powder. Within the hour every available sharp-edged tool was hard at work and locks of hair were swept up by the bushel. With its usual sense of humour, the War Office issued a counter-order next day, but this time the men had the laugh—not a queue remained and from then hair was worn close cut round the neck (but not really short), with small side-whiskers (down to the bottom of the ear).

In the following year, 1809, the Highlanders took a reverse. There had been strenuous arguments for and against the kilt, going back forty or fifty years. The authorities claimed that it was not suitable for Active Service and met with determined and circumstantial denials from Commanding Officers, who proved that their men had better health records than those in breeched regiments. Then 'the inhabitants of South Britain' who, of course, never exposed so much as an ankle, were supposed to have prudish objections to the 'indecency' of the kilt. But eventually there seems to have been an acute and long-standing shortage of Highland recruits, which meant filling up with English and other nationalities. These

[1] Excluding those wearing kilts.

could not stomach the idea of this strange garb and would not enlist if it meant wearing it. So the result was that the 71st (1/HLI), 72nd (1/SEAFORTH), 73rd (1/BW), 74th (2/HLI), 75th (1/GORDONS), and 91st (1/A & S) were de-kilted and, for the time being, ceased to be Highland regiments, though some managed to keep their pipers and a few other national treasures. This was naturally a severe blow to Highland pride. Probably a Highlander in breeches felt much like an English soldier might have if he had had to wear a woman's hat and have all his buttons sewn on the wrong side, or—if he had to wear a kilt! But the reasons for the order do appear to have been factual and not merely designed with vicious intent as one might deduce from reading certain very susceptible authors. These seem to have taken it for granted that any unpleasing order, on any subject, came from 'malice aforethought', quite failing to realize that the perpetual supply of 'fun and games' from Whitehall was always the spice of Army life. They had evidently not heard the popular definition of the one and only thing the War Office cannot to do a soldier!

Highland dress was restored to these regiments at different dates and in varying degrees: 72nd, 1823, plaid, trews, and feather bonnet; Dress Stuart tartan—91st, 1864, plaid, trews, chako with diced border; Campbell tartan—74th, 1845, as for 91st, but wearing Lamont tartan (42nd with stripe of facing colour, white, Pl. V), 73rd and 75th, 1881. In that year all the above regiments returned to full Highland dress, with regimental tartans as described in Chapter XIV.[1] The case of the 71st (1/HLI) was slightly different. It became a Light Infantry regiment in 1809 and for that reason gave up the kilt. In 1875 and again in 1877 the Commanding Officer refused offers to restore the kilt as, for some abstruse reason, this would have meant losing their Light Infantry status. An odd result later on, was that the regiment was temporarily removed from the Highland Brigade, in the South African War of 1899–1902, on account of not being kilted. (HLI (71st and 74th) actually only reverted to the kilt as recently as 1948, at last achieving their ambition to be properly dressed Highlanders *and* Light Infantrymen.)

After 1815 it was thought in England (as on other occasions) that the future would produce only small wars, now and then, and attention was given to smartening up what was allowed to remain of the Army. In 1816 another chako (copied from allied troops taking part in the occupation of Paris) was brought in. It was bell-shaped, 7½ in. high, with much lace, and became known as the Regency chako (Pl. V). In 1820 Service Dress was abolished and the long-tailed coatee returned (not for Highlanders, of course), with officers' lapels widened out into what was known as the 'cuirass

[1] The 74th adopted Mackenzie tartan trews.

front'. Plate V shows an officer of the Camerons in Highland dress at its most picturesque period. GREYS again wore the cavalry coatee with lace buttonholes across the front and about this time the Grenadier cap (GREYS, RSF, and Grenadier Companies) became entirely covered with fur, the cloth inset at the back (a relic of the seventeenth-century cap) having now disappeared, but the front plate and cords remained until 1838. Trousers were sky-blue in winter (a beautiful shade of lavender was worn by officers) and white linen in summer.

George IV was particularly interested in uniforms and about 1827 full dress was given a careful scrutiny. One of the problems of that time was the abundance of gold and silver lace, which caused officers to get into debt. (It was a matter of private incomes, as their pay was so small that it hardly came into the question.)

The results of these deliberations began to appear in 1828 when the lace and the cockade were removed from the chako and it was shortened to 6¼ in. and made more bell-shaped. The feather (worsted plume for O.R.'s) became plain white for battalion companies and, as if to cancel the saving on the lace, elaborate cap-lines were worn in enormous plaited festoons, but they only survived, for the infantry, until 1830. (The SG officer in Plate V has both lace and cap-line but, as previously mentioned, General Orders about dress did not usually affect the Guards.) In 1830 the feather was shortened from 12 in. to 8 in. and Light Infantry adopted a green worsted ball in its place. Five years later white ball-tufts were issued to battalion companies.

In 1830 the reformers got down as far as the coatee. All the officers' lace on the front went and it became a plain double-breasted garment, always fully buttoned. It had lace on the collar and tails, two large epaulets (for all officers), and a red slash on the cuff adorned with buttons and lace. Following the psychological trend of peace-time, it was very tight-fitting and the collar was high and stiff. (It always took a war to make uniforms fit more comfortably.) Silver lace was abolished for regular units and became the distinguishing mark of Volunteers (who had also felt the effects of peace and had nearly ceased to exist). The O.R.'s coatee (infantry) was single-breasted with lace buttonholes and white fringed epaulets.

The SCOTS GUARDS became the SCOTS FUSILIER GUARDS in 1831 and so wore fusilier caps. The following year all the Foot Guards were issued with bearskin caps and their Flank companies gave up 'wings' and wore the universal fringed epaulets.

In 1833 the cavalry (GREYS) were issued with scarlet (instead of red) coatees for Corporals and Dragoons. These were single-

breasted, without lace buttonholes,[1] and Dragoon regiments wore two bars of lace on the collar and three chevrons on each cuff. Gauntlet gloves were worn and an enormous white feather spanned right across the top of the bearskin cap. A new sword was issued, with a 36-in. blade, very slightly curved, and a solid steel shell guard.

Officers' gorgets and sergeants' halberds became museum pieces from 1830.

In 1845 white trousers were discontinued, after many cases of rheumatism had been traced to their frequent laundering with nothing much in the way of drying facilities. 'Oxford mixture', a blackish blue shade (Pl. V), had appeared in 1828, the red welt being added in 1833, and this, gradually merging into indigo blue became the universal colour for trousers at all seasons.

It is useless to attempt to follow all the lesser changes in such a confined space, but the main items of full dress have now been mentioned and these remained stabilized until 1855, with only minor alterations. Some of these were: SG sergeants took to plain-fronted coatees in 1830, other regiments following in 1836. In that year all the interesting old regimental lace patterns had to be replaced with common white tape, and Good Conduct stripes were introduced. In 1838 the front plates and cords of the grenadier caps were removed, GREYS however, retaining the thistle in front and the Hanover horse at the back, and RSF a grenade badge on the front. In 1844, yet another chako, the 'Albert pot', appeared (Pl. V), in 1845 the stripes of facing colour in the sergeants' sashes were removed and O.R.'s tail-pockets followed them in 1848.

The man of the 90th (2/CAMERONIANS) in Plate V, is typical of the Lowland regiments at the time of the Crimean War, except for a change in equipment which occurred in 1850. One of the crossbelts was then replaced by a waistbelt which carried the bayonet. The cartouche box and its belt remained as before and the haversack, water bottle and pack all had separate slings and straps. This and the loss of the rather decorative breastplate did not improve the general appearance. Before going into action an extra ammunition pouch used to be handed out to each man and was now carried on the waistbelt, bringing his total supply up to fifty-six rounds.

At this time developments were in progress with regard to the soldier's weapons. The standard musket—'Brown Bess'—had been in use since 1690. It was cumbersome and inaccurate, slow to load, and its effective range, firing in volleys, was no more than 150 yards. General Wolfe had trained himself to load and fire five times in a minute and there was an expert who was said to be able to get off eight rounds, but in 1792 the Colonel of the 44th (ESSEX REGIMENT)

[1] Discontinued in 1827.

advocated a return to the long bow! He said its range and accuracy were quite as good as those of the musket, a bowman could fire four times as quickly, there was no smoke to conceal the target, the moral effect of arrows was greater than that of balls, and bows could be manufactured cheaply anywhere, all of which appears to have been correct.

A Scot, rather oddly a minister of the Kirk, Alexander Forsyth, of Behelvie, Aberdeenshire, was responsible for the first big advance in musketry. (Early rifles are discussed in Chapter V.) After about forty years of experiment and frustration, during which he was said to have refused an offer of £20,000 from Napoleon, his invention of the percussion cap was adopted by the War Office, and about 1840-42 all the flint-locks were converted. The cap was the earliest form of detonator, containing fulminate of mercury, which was placed over a nipple beside the touch-hole, where it was struck by the hammer. It practically eliminated misfires, which, using flints, had often averaged as much as one in five shots. The picker and brush (for cleaning the touch-hole and priming-pan), which hung from the crossbelts, were then abolished and percussion caps were carried, either in a special small pocket, or in a very small pouch sewn on to the sling of the ammunition pouch, worn until

Glengarry

1867. The machine age was dawning and this was only the beginning of scientific methods in warfare. At the Crimean period many inventors were busy on new rifles, new bullets for easier loading, breech-blocks, &c., and rifled cannon appeared on the scene before the war ended.

To return to uniforms. The troops now had a sober, respectable, Victorian look about them (specially those in the 'Albert pot'), lacking much of the smartness and brilliance of the Napoleonic period, and still more of the elegance of the mid-eighteenth century. This must have been due rather to the influence of changes in civilian fashions and outlook during the industrialization of the

Crimean War. Highland officer in improvised dress.

country, than to innovations in methods of warfare, which, so far, were not very striking.

Undress uniforms of this period had some interesting features. The fully-fledged Highland bonnet was an expensive item, besides being somewhat cumbersome, so in Drill Order, &c., a plain bonnet without feathers was worn, 'cocked' high by various internal methods (Pl. V). Scottish headgear made important contributions to undress uniforms for the whole Army during the century. From *c.* 1800 to 1838 the universal forage cap was a bonnet of Kilmarnock type, which was then modified to become the 'pork pie' hat. This lasted until *c.* 1868, when another Scottish cap, the Glengarry, became the standard undress headwear. (This was a modification of the bonnet, made by turning the sides upwards and inwards and smoothing the crown so as to fit closely over the head. Like the other bonnets, except the feather one, it was worn as much by civilians as by soldiers.) In 1890 (officers 1896) it was replaced by the Field Service cap, which was of Austrian design, but looked like a cross between a Glengarry and a Balaclava helmet, and from then the Glengarry was worn only by Scottish regiments. The more formal peaked caps and the 'pillbox', worn by the cavalry from the Crimean period (Pl. VI), and by the Foot Guards towards the end of the century, also look like adaptations of the Scottish bonnet.[1]

The white shell jacket (Pl. V), worn by SG and Highland regiments, from *c.* 1800, was simply the old white waistcoat (which had sleeves), used for drills, fatigues, &c., but when it actually ceased to be a waistcoat and why it was only worn by these regiments as a jacket, are difficult points. There have been laboured discussions as to whether Highland officers wore red shell jackets, but the 'camera cannot lie'—not to that extent—and they did. Presumably the white one was worn on parade with troops (who only had white), and the red for duties in barracks. The shell jacket—red, blue, green, &c., according to the unit—was a universal garment almost throughout the century. In the cavalry it was known as the stable jacket and it was worn as service dress by all arms in several wars in India, including the Mutiny, and in the Crimea. The red frock took its place in 1878 (Pl. VI and VII), but the LIFE GUARDS continued to wear it for some years. It also survived as an officers' Mess jacket, worn by all regiments from *c.* 1860, and as the full dress of the ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY.

The blue frock coat (Pl. V), originally the officers' great coat, or 'Camblet cloak', which had a cape, became so popular after the Napoleonic wars that there was difficulty in preventing its use on nearly all parades. It dates back to about the beginning of the

[1] GREYS officers wore the pill-box from 1857–1902, O.R's from 1869–1903. SG O.R's wore it from 1850–1900. From 1900–1902 they wore the Broderick cap, and from then the round peaked cap.

nineteenth century, and even far back in the previous century Generals and other officers had blue undress coats. It went through changes too numerous to describe here, and, in spite of being abolished several times, survived well into the twentieth century. It was worn by Highland officers, with a peaked cap and tartan trews. The only officer of a Scottish regiment who now wears one is the Adjutant of the SCOTS GUARDS.

During the Napoleonic wars cap-covers came into use—bags made of waterproof material, which fitted over chakos, and even over feather bonnets, making the Highlander a somewhat ludicrous figure, with his headdress looking like a large black kitbag. A very comprehensive system of cap-covers grew up and included white covers for tropical climates with neck-flaps, khaki covers for helmets, white and khaki for forage and S.D. caps, &c., &c. Plumes, hackles, helmet crests, &c., used to be removed for training and, of course, when the covers were worn.

Active Service was the natural destroyer of ceremonial dress, rather paradoxically, as full dress originated for battle, to aid morale and impress the enemy; and many Albert pots found their way into the bushes at the battle of the Alma, the comfortable 'pork pie' being quickly taken out of the pack and substituted. But the complete breakdown of the hopelessly inadequate supply system gave rather too much impetus to the relaxation of 'full dress battle order', and the desert patrols of the last war would have been completely outclassed in the Crimea. One of Roger Fenton's photographs shows a group of 42nd officers who would have made very efficient bird-scarers. One has an obviously home-made tartan jacket, white waistcoat and huge bow-tie, with a ragged pair of trews, and two others have shapeless tarpaulin jackets—one with a 'pork pie' cap. All have voluminous beards and only their broadswords suggest that they are connected with the Army. This staggering innovation of allowing photographers and Press correspondents (only about one of each) to accompany the Army—curbed and resented as they were—brought public opinion into the picture, which produced surprisingly quick results, both in supplies and dress reform.

As regards the latter, in 1855 the coatee was scrapped and replaced by a loose tunic (SG, Pl. V) which, a year later, was made single-breasted. Epaulets and wings were abolished and infantry officers had only a twisted crimson cord on the left shoulder to keep the sash in place (from then worn over the shoulder by Lowland as well as Highland regiments). From this date Sergeants of Highland regiments wore the ordinary red sash over the right shoulder—not over the left as they had formerly worn the Highland sash. There was still a little gold lace, on the collar and skirts and on the cuffs, which had slashes of facing colour, and officers' badges of

rank were now worn on the collar. At the same time Highlanders adopted the doublet with Inverness flaps, (Pl. VI) which was also double-breasted for one year. Buttons were now all made of brass and were evenly spaced for all regiments, except the Foot Guards. Three years later (1858), with the abolition of Flank companies, the familiar green hackles and the green or white ball-tufts on the chakos disappeared. White spats had been worn for many years in marching order, by Highland regiments, and about this time the 42nd and 92nd made a change from the usual hose-colours of red and white, to red and black, and the 79th to red and green. The 92nd took to plain grey stockings for ordinary parades. Only the Highland officers retained the white crossbelt for the sword, other regiments now having white leather waistbelts with slings, but it was also worn by the Lowland infantry regiments (except SG and CAMERONIANS) after the regrouping of 1881. In 1855 a somewhat smaller chako was issued (Pl. V and VI), which was slightly altered several times, before it was replaced by the German spiked helmet in 1878. After the Crimean War, Commanding Officers were relieved of the duty of providing uniforms for their men, which was taken over by the government.

Plate V shows the dress of the 93rd (2/A & S) during the Indian Mutiny, the brown Holland tunic being, actually, the only unusual feature. Khaki drill, issued white and dyed by the regiments with varying results, had been worn in India for some years, but most of the regiments sent out during the Mutiny wore red or white. When the campaign was over khaki was discontinued, as no one thought it looked smart. It did not, as worn at that time, and men would stay in the canteen and get drunk, rather than walk out feeling they looked like 'sweepers'. So the Army in India went back to white drill for peace-time duties in the 'hot weather'. (Khaki—dusty or earthen—*Forbe's Hindustani Dictionary*).

About 1860, General Sir Samuel Browne, V.C., Indian Army, having lost an arm, directed some of his ingenuity towards inventing a belt which would enable him to carry and handle his sword and pistol with less difficulty, in his maimed condition. He left his mark on most armies of the world (Pl. VI, BW). The topee (shown on the same figure) also originated in India, during the Mutiny. At first it had a small rib running from the apex down the back, and later, General Sir Garnet Wolseley improved the design.

At this period the Volunteer movement was revived strongly all over Great Britain and the late Major-General Grierson produced an amazing display of uniforms in his book *Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force*, 1859–1908. Volunteer Commanding Officers were not troubled by Clothing and Dress Regulations to the same extent

as those of Regular units and produced many original ideas. The uniforms varied from obviously German and French patterns, in a great variety of colours, to suits which would have been admirable for gamekeepers, but the great majority of the units were, or became, affiliated to one of the Regular regiments and adopted some modification of their uniform. A few of them are illustrated in Plates VI and VII.

It was at this period, too, that the earliest of the now existing Dominion Scottish units began their history. The BLACK WATCH OF CANADA was the first of these, formed in 1862, and was followed by seven more Canadian Scottish units, before 1875, the year from which South Africa's oldest Scottish regiment, the FIRST CITY, dates its official pedigree. Many of these regiments did not begin life as purely Scottish units, but Highland Companies were formed and wore Scottish dress. The details of this depended at first chiefly on two factors—the Clans which were mainly represented, as regards tartans, badges, &c., and the availability of such items as bonnets, sporrans and hose. Where there was difficulty in deciding these points, the old custom of the early Militia and Fencibles was followed—the 42nd or 'Government' tartan and a dress as near as possible to that of the senior Highland Regiment, the BLACK-WATCH. Later most of these Dominion units became affiliated to one of the regular regiments and, after a period of probation (it was not to be made too cheap), were permitted to wear their uniform, with their own badges and minor regimental items.

The figure next to the BW officer in Plate VI shows the dress of the Highland Company of the QUEEN'S OWN RIFLES OF CANADA (forerunners of the 48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA) in 1859. The red hackle was an accidental choice of colour, as they did not realize that the BW had a copyright. It has always been admired and coveted by other units, and early in the nineteenth century a General Order had to be issued reserving it for the BW only.

The Crimean War, which had spot-lighted many glaring deficiencies in the Army, was followed by extensive reforms in matters far more important than uniforms, but the general stir-up continued to affect these for some years, and still more changes were made.

In 1860 the pipers of all Scottish regiments were put into green doublets, a custom started by the 79th, which perhaps unconsciously followed the old tradition of drummers' coats, by using their facing colour. The Glengarry, without the diced border and usually with a feather, became the universal headdress of pipers, except in the 42nd which preferred theirs to retain a headdress then worn only by soldiers—the feather bonnet. Incidentally, this was fitted with a chinstrap at the same time and shoe-buckles ceased to be worn by O.R.'s

RSF wore the chako, instead of the Fusilier cap, from about 1850 to 1866, when the seal-skin cap was issued.

This was the age of 'mutton-chop' whiskers and 'walrus' moustaches. 'Permission' was given in 1854 for infantry to wear moustaches but, in view of the poor response, it became an order, which remained in force until the 1914–18 war. Cavalry had worn moustaches for many years, but used to shave them off on retirement, as they were not respectable for civilians!

In 1866 there was an innovation in small arms, when a breech-loading rifle—the Snider-Enfield, with brass cartridges, replaced the Minié, this again being superseded in 1871, by the Martini-Henry (Pl. V). The latter had a bore of .450, and a 'kick' which gave black and blue shoulders to the inexperienced. Black powder was still used and produced the traditional reeking smoke-cloud and excessive fouling.

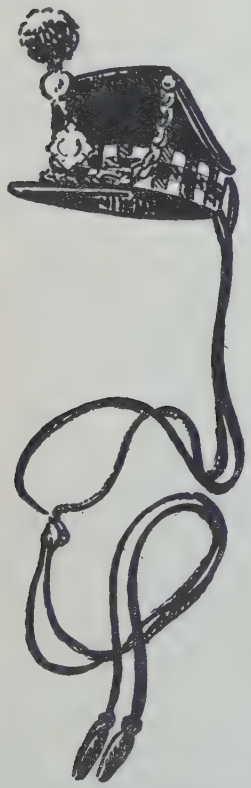
In 1868 the officers' blue patrol jacket, with much braid, (Pl. VII, FORFAR LIGHT HORSE) took the place of the frock coat (which soon reappeared), and was worn by Highland Officers, with trews and the round forage cap. (It was worn at the same time as the plain blue 'frock' (Pl. VII, 1897), which finally replaced it early in the twentieth century). At the same time leather sword-scabbards were superseded by steel ones (later nickel-plated), and the 'slash' cuffs were replaced by pointed ones, except for the Guards, who still have them. Highland regiments adopted the gauntlet cuff (still worn in full dress or No. 1 Dress). Drummers' regimental lace was substituted in 1866 by a universal pattern—white with small red crowns (Pl. VIII). Only the Guards drummers retained the lace button-loops on the front and lace chevrons all up the sleeves—white with a pattern of tiny blue fleur-de-lis, and their bandsmen kept their loops of gold lace. The white tunics and doublets of the bandsmen of Line regiments were discontinued in 1873, and from then they wore the same as their regiment, but with the universal lace on seams, collars, and wing epaulets.

While on the subject of bands, an interesting feature of the Indian Army (before the attainment of Dominion status, in 1947) must be mentioned. Approximately forty regiments had pipe bands, equipped with Scottish pipes, usually with the pipe-bags covered with an official Scottish tartan, and in some regiments the pipers wore plaids. Probably the only two mounted pipe-bands in the world belonged to the 17th BENGAL CAVALRY, and the 1st CANADIAN MOUNTED RIFLES. The Indian regiment had a drum horse and six pipers, all mounted on greys, each man having a pair of reins attached to his stirrups, in the manner of a kettle-drummer. It would be interesting to know whether their duties included leading the regiment in a charge and, if so, the effect of pipe-music, played at the

gallop, on men and horses! (This band, however, only lasted from about 1895 to 1902.)

It was not only the regiments of the North (where native pipes are used—somewhat similar to the Scottish ones but with a shrill, high pitch) which had pipe-bands, but even some from Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. The great majority, however, were in regiments composed of Pathans, Sikhs, Punjabis, and Dogras, and of course, the GHURKAS, who have strong ties with Scottish regiments, and who still form a part of the British forces.

In 1870 the old tartan, which had a very harsh texture, was replaced by a softer and more comfortable material and the madder-red tunics of corporals and privates gave place to scarlet.



Shako, HLI officers, 1881–1914.

Three years later the scarlet frock, or undress tunic, with side pockets (and shoulder chains for GREYS), was introduced (Pl. VI and VII) and was worn on training parades and exercises, and a new equipment was issued. This was the first real 'set' of equipment (Pl. V), with a pair of braces designed to distribute the weight of the ammunition (in two pouches), bayonet, and valise, but the latter was worn in the small of the back, from 1873 to 1889, and necessitated the removal of the buttons on the skirts, to prevent blisters on the buttocks. The buttons did not reappear until 1904. The star previously worn on the old cartouche box, by SG, was transferred to the valise and, in 1905, when packs ceased to be worn in Guard order, it was placed on the centre strap of the greatcoat or cape.

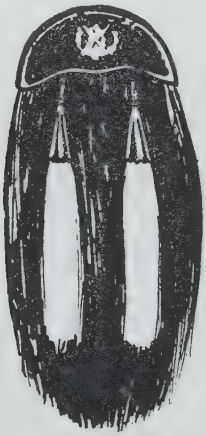
After the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1, the Germans, being the victors, became the leaders of military fashion, for the time being, and in 1878 the 'pickelhaube' type of helmet became the 'universal' full dress head-wear of the British Army (Pl. VII) which, however, only affected RS and KOSB among the Scottish regiments. This and the adoption of short anklet gaiters, worn over trousers, gave quite a Prussian appearance. In the same year officers' badges of rank were revised and were removed from the collar and placed on new gold shoulder-cords (Pl. VIII)—blue shoulder-straps with gold laced edges for SG.

In 1881 the Army was reorganized on the Cardwell system, which amalgamated pairs of regiments, so that, while one battalion

was serving overseas, the other would be at home. Regimental numbers were officially abolished and another traditional feature, the old regimental facings, disappeared. (Many were restored later.) All Scottish regiments, apart from the 'Royal' ones—GREYS, SG, RS, KOSB, BW, and CAMERONS—were ordered to have yellow facings. HLI and SEAFORTH later recovered the buff facings of the71st and 72nd.

However, the Lowland regiments gained from these changes, as they were all put into Scottish dress—doublets, and tartan trews (Pl. VIII)—after having worn English uniforms for about two centuries. Officers (except in the CAMERONIANS) wore white cross-belts and carried broadswords, as in Highland regiments.

One of the first actions in which regimental Colours were not carried was at Tel-el-Kebir, 1882. An order was issued in March that year that in future they would not be taken on service, but that they would be retained as a record of battle honours and as visible evidence, for young soldiers, of the history of their regiments. The sizes of Colours were: 1751–1855—6 ft. 6 in. flying and 6 ft. on the pole; 1858—4 ft. 6 in. and 4ft.; 1868—3 ft. 9 in. and 3 ft.



*Cameron*s, *O.R.'s sporran*, 1881.

Badger's head sporran, A & SH, officers and sergeants, 1881.

On active service regiments wore the scarlet frock and white helmet, except in India (Pl. VI), until the Sudan campaign of 1885 when drill was issued—then a pale, drab-grey colour. Up to this time n.c.o.'s of Foot Guards, Fusiliers, Light Infantry, and Highlanders, wore chevrons on both arms, but they were now to have them on the right arm only. The order came at a most inopportune time and had to be reversed later as, in khaki, an n.c.o., with stripes on the right arm only, could not be distinguished from his left side.[1]

[1] The order of 1881, to wear badges of rank on the right arm only, still stands with regard to full dress, undress, etc. Since an order of 1904 they have been worn on both arms in Service dress and battle dress.

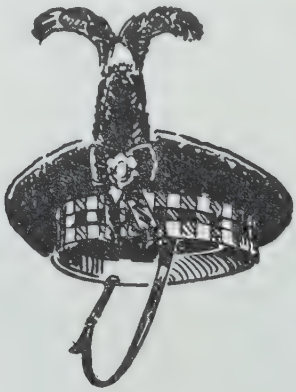
In 1888 there was further progress in personal weapons, with the issue of the first magazine, bolt-action rifle—the Lee-Metford—which, with modifications, e.g. a shortened barrel, a charger guide, a magazine containing ten instead of five rounds, and improved sighting, became the standard rifle (soon to be displaced by the F.N. rifle). A short sword-bayonet was used instead of the old triangular-bladed socket bayonet, which fitted over the muzzle and had remained as the normal type since the eighteenth century. Cordite was invented about the same time and further changed the appearance of the battlefield by making no visible smoke.

The South African War, 1899–1902, was the beginning of the modern era, and was fought entirely in khaki (Pl. VIII). Rifle fire had become so accurate, and sniping so popular, that any strongly-coloured article of clothing was liable to shorten its wearers' life, and Highlanders had to cover their kilts with khaki aprons, and white equipment had to be coloured—in some cases by using the brown mud of the veldt. Towards the end, 'slouch' (or 'bush') hats became almost universal and cartridge bandoliers replaced the twin pouches, which were clumsy and awkward for firing in the lying position. (In previous wars, troops seldom had to fire lying down.) In fighting order, the haversack was worn on the shoulders, instead of the valise—a practice which has continued to the present time.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

As usual after a big war, there was much overhauling to be done and dress and small arms came in for their share. From about 1902 khaki Service Dress became a general issue, and was worn for training and general duties. It consisted of a round cap, jacket, trousers and puttees (breeches for GREYS), with the old buff leather equipment, coloured with khaki blanco. Scottish regiments were still quite colourful, with their diced Glengarries, tartan trews or kilts with coloured hose-tops and khaki spats (Pl. VIII). In the Guards coloured forage caps were worn with Service Dress, except on field training. The polishing of buttons, badges, buckles, &c., went on as usual. The dark grey greatcoats of the infantry were changed to khaki, but the GUARDS still wear Atholl grey ones with full fress. Full dress was retained for reviews, church parades, guards, &c., and 'walking-out' dress for an infantryman consisted of the full dress tunic, or doublet, and trousers or kilt, forage cap, or Glengarry, with waist belt, swagger cane and gloves. Sergeants wore their bayonets (Pl. VIII shows a Canadian Dragoon in 'walking-out' dress). But the time had come when full dress had entirely lost its usefulness in war and, however valuable it might be as regards tradition, morale, and recruiting, it would henceforth be only a reminder of the past, and would go into store the moment a unit was

warned for active service. Accordingly it was pruned of some of the items which previously were of use on service, or were unnecessarily expensive, such as the pouch-belts of the cavalry N.C.O.'s and men, and the sabre-taches and elaborate saddle-cloths of the officers. Infantry no longer wore anklets, and equipment was reduced to the waist-belt, on which one pouch was worn when it was intended to fire a *feu de joie* at a review, or volleys at a funeral. Officers' sashes were again worn round the waist, and the sword-slings were attached to a small belt under the tunic. This, however, only affected SG among the Scottish regiments, as the officers of all the other infantry regiments (except the Cameronians) retained the old cross-belt to carry their broadswords and continued to wear the sash over the left shoulder. RS and KOSB got rid of the very un-Scottish spiked helmet, and wore Kilmarnock bonnets, cocked on the left, with a blackcock's



Kilmarnock bonnet, RS, 1904.

tail. HLI and CAMERONIANS wore the chako of pre-helmet days (Pl. VIII). HLI officers, alone among Scottish regiments, wore the broadsword without its basket hilt in full dress, and the plaid round the body (this applied to sergeants also), in the manner of Field officers, pipers, &c. CAMERONIANS officers wore the Rifles type of sword, and the pouch-belt, and in Service Dress they continued to wear their Sam Browne belts with two braces (Pl. VIII).

A feature which must be mentioned here is the only man in the Army who, at that time, wore a white bearskin cap—GREYS' kettle-drummer (Pl. IX). This cap was presented by Czar Nicholas II of Russia, who was their Colonel-in-Chief, 1896–1916, and was worn on special occasions. After the 1914–18 war the Curator of the museum in Edinburgh Castle acquired this cap and refused to part with it, so the Colonel had an exact replica made, which he presented to the regiment. This drummer was also unusual in wearing an infantry drum-carriage (a relic of the days when Dragoons were

mounted infantry), and the drum-horse was the only black one in the regiment.

At some time between 1902 and 1907 charger-loading was invented, and resulted in a new form of cartridge bandolier with small pouches (Pl. VIII) made to contain three chargers each, and in 1908 the short rifle with long bayonet, and webbing equipment were issued. This equipment was the first which was assembled 'all in one piece'. It was very much less fatiguing to wear, as the weight was scientifically distributed, no straps crossed the chest, and it could be put on or removed in a matter of seconds, whereas the older equipments involved minutes of fumbling with the numerous overlapping and interlocking slings and straps. Nevertheless it was often described as a 'Christmas tree', not without reason. One more 'present' added to the tree in 1915 was the anti-gas respirator.

World War I brought a minor revival of body armour (finally discarded in the 18th century), in the form of the steel helmet, in-

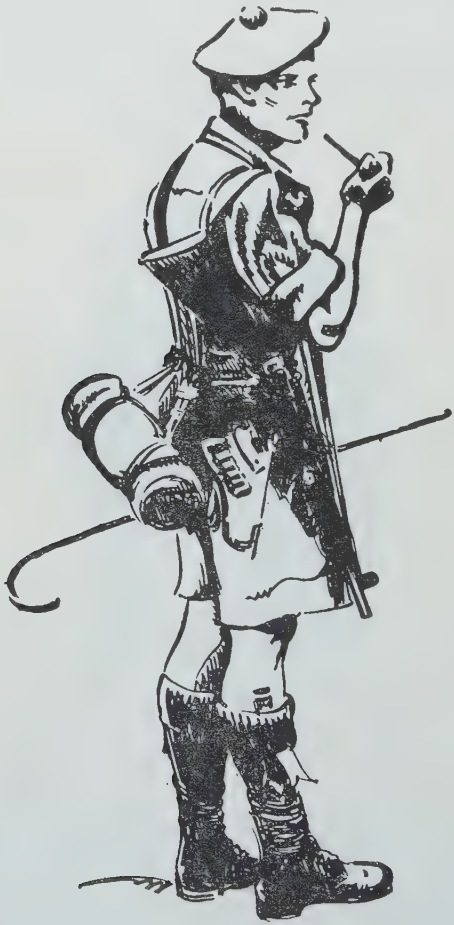
Feather bonnet, 1914.

tended for protection against shrapnel bullets, and colours on uniforms had to be still more rigorously eliminated. Highlanders wore khaki bonnets and stockings, and aprons which covered the kilt all round, instead of only in front. But red garter-flashes were still worn and the BLACK WATCH wore their miniature red hackles on their khaki bonnets. This, being sufficient distinction, was worn without a cap badge.

Plate VIII shows a drummer of the SOUTH AFRICAN SCOTTISH, in

the dress of 1916 but wearing a leather equipment which was hastily manufactured to fit out 'Kitchener's' battalions. The braces used to stretch, when wet, until the pack hung on the buttocks, as in 1873, and it was replaced by webbing as quickly as possible. The springbok, 'Nancy', was the regimental pet.

The year 1914 put an end to the general use of full dress and it was afterwards confined to the Household troops, bands, and officers attending levees. There was however, an attempt at producing a cheaper and simpler substitute about 1937, more or less in the form of the pre-1914 blue 'frock'. Plate VIII shows a man of the LOVAT SCOUTS in the dress worn at the Coronation of King George VI, 1937.



A & SH, Korea. Officer.

That year produced the battle suit and a new webbing equipment, with pouches constructed to carry Bren magazines. In the course of comprehensive research, it had been decided that a very small

bayonet was quite adequate for killing a man, and would be more handy and reduce the weight a soldier had to carry, so a miniature one, with a blade about the length of an ordinary tableknife, was issued. A further simplification was the gradual elimination of the topee. Apparently the tropical sun had weakened since the days when men were threatened with immediate heat-stroke, if they stepped out of a tent without this unwieldy covering. GREYS wore topees in Palestine in 1941, but in N. Africa berets, bonnets, 'tin hats' and woollen caps supplied most forms of protection for the head. The 'bush' or 'slouch' hat of Boer War times (Pl. VIII), however, reappeared in certain war areas, and is worn now by Australian Scottish units, in hot weather.

World War II denationalized the Highlander's dress still more, by eliminating the kilt, and it is no longer worn on field training or active service. Anopheles, mosquitoes, gases, radio-activity, &c., have finally accomplished this result and, as one Canadian regimental history puts it, 'without his kilt a man feels he is no longer a Highlander but just a soldier'—perhaps a somewhat arrogant view when considered by other soldiers, yet understandable.

Modern Skean Dhu, A & SH.

Developments are still going on as regards equipment, water-proof battle-suits, clothing to withstand arctic climate, (aided by experience in Korea), caps similar to those worn by the German 'Afrika Corps', body armour, &c., and protection against radio-activity and other foul inventions of modern progress is also being studied.

Finally, the idea of a full dress is not dead, and, after long deliberation, a somewhat unimaginative effort has been made to produce something not too expensive, yet calcluated to give a soldier more self-respect than the battle-suit. This, after all, is more or less only an elaborated edition of a garage-man's overall, but for several years it was the only parade uniform for all ranks below Lieut.-Colonel.

The universal complaint about the new No. 1 Dress, apart from its smartness or otherwise, is the almost total abolition of those long-treasured distinctions which give regiments their individuality. Little enough remained for O.R.'s—practically only the facings, and the sporrans of Highland regiments—and surely that much could be allowed to continue. The old scarlet, too, was something with a long history, known all over the world, unmistakeably a British soldier's colour, and if the full dress cloth is prohibitive in price, it

might be possible to use a scarlet serge for the new dress, rather than imposing a standard, nondescript dullness on the ceremonial dress of the whole army. In early times red was worn by corporals and privates because it was cheaper than scarlet. Perhaps this is an idea worth considering.

The new 'No. 1 Dress' is certainly better-looking for the Scottish regiments than for the others, and in contrast to English regiments, whose uniform resembles that of a postman, and whose bands have been mistaken (at civil functions) for the local town band, Highlanders do look smart and soldierly in it. One would have thought, however, that BW and CAMERONS would have scarlet facings (now only consisting of the slashes on the skirts), as all 'Royal' regiments used to have on dark-coloured uniforms, instead of dark blue on a dark green coatee. Regimental sporrans have been replaced by a universal small white purse, and only the pipers (officially) still wear their full 'regalia', but the CAMERONS, in 1951, acquired something new, in their blue hackle. White spats and coloured hose-tops remain, officers and sergeants retain their sashes, and the former their

Balmoral bonnet

gold shoulder-cords, white cross-belts and broadswords, but the dirk-belt and dirk are not authorized (Pl. XII). The Skean Dhu continues to be worn.

The Lowland regiments have their bonnets, doublets (blue, except for CAMERONIANS, who wear green) and tartan trews, but no sign of their facing colour remains (Pl. X).

The orders for No. 1 Dress specify the Balmoral bonnet for Highlanders and the Kilmarnock for Lowlanders. The No. 1 Dress of GREYS is similar to the old 'blue-frock' dress, retaining the round cap with the Vandyke band, but with loose trousers instead of overalls, and no spurs.

No. 1 Dress, similar to that of the Regular regiments, has been

specified in Military Board Instructions, for ranks of Sergeant and above and bandsmen of Australian Scottish units (Pl. XII). In Canada No. 1 or 'Patrol' Dress is usually a blue 'frock' with dress sporran, sword, white spats, and Glengarry—no cross-belts, waist-belt or sash. (Pl. X). Other ranks in some units, wear white shell jackets.[1] In South Africa and New Zealand, ceremonial dress usually consists of coloured bonnet, S.D. Jacket, Sam Browne belt, sword, coloured hose, and white spats. Other ranks are dressed accordingly and sergeants wear sashes (Pl. VIII and XII).

No one seems quite certain as to whether full dress is now totally abolished, or not. In any case it still appears, specially for pipers and bandsmen, and the full band of BW was seen wearing it during its tour of South Africa in 1950. GREYS turned out a few officers and men in it, for the Queen's visit to Edinburgh (Pl. X), and in Canada certain regiments quite frequently produce guards of honour in full Highland dress. As one instance the BLACK WATCH OF CANADA can turn out 300 men in full dress.

The SCOTS GUARDS still retain the full outfit of 1914, except that the men's white shell jackets were abolished about 1934, and the bandsmen have plain tunics for the less ceremonious occasions. O.R.'s wear the round khaki cap, with battledress, cocked in the smart characteristic style of the Brigade, with the effect that if a man does not hold his head up, he cannot see where he is going. Their blue forage caps have a diced border and a narrow brass band round the peak, and are worn with No. 1 Dress, i.e. blue frock and full dress trousers, with white belt. In State dress the officers wear the gold and crimson sashes of earlier times, and the Drum-Major a crimson coat, almost entirely covered with gold lace (Pl. XII), which is said to differ only slightly from those worn by State trumpeters at the Coronation of James II. This coat, alone, costs approximately £450, and an officer's scarlet tunic is now well over £100. The Pipe-Major, unlike those of other regiments (Pl. X), wears silver lace on his doublet, which is blue, instead of the usual green.

[1] In Canada a No. 1 Dress similar to that of the regiments of Scotland was authorized in 1954.

PLATE XII

Left to right

1954

The 1st Divisional Regiment, Royal New Zealand Armoured Corps
(New Zealand Scottish)
Sergeant (*ceremonial dress*) *and Private* (*training dress*)

The Transvaal Scottish
Drum-Major (*modified full dress*)
(In full dress a feather bonnet with 12in. red hackle is worn)

The Scots Guards
Drum-Major (*state dress*)

The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment)
Officer (*No.* 1 *dress*)

The 41st Battalion (The Byron Regiment) of Australia
Officer (*No.* 2 *dress*)
(No. 1 dress, minus belts, gaiters, and sword. Worn with buckled shoes for official functions and entertainments, day and evening, where uniform is required.)

The New Brunswick Scottish, of Canada
Warrant Officer (*Class I*) (*service dress*)

The Lake Superior Scottish Regiment, of Canada
Private

PLATE XII

APPENDIX I

ABBREVIATED REGIMENTAL HISTORIES. SCOTTISH REGIMENTS OF BRITAIN, THE DOMINIONS, AND THE COLONIES

The following is a summary of general information, with a short historical note about the Scottish units of each Dominion and a mention of some of the regiments raised for the earlier wars, and afterwards disbanded.

Unfortunately, in a book of this size, it is not possible to give full details about the non-regular units of the British Army, past and present—the Fencibles, Volunteers, Militia, Territorial Army, Home Guard, Cadet Units, &c. One can only point out that practically every existing Scottish unit in the Commonwealth, except the Yeomanry, is connected in some way with the old regular regiments, which, enduring through the centuries like twelve stout oak trees, have put out new branches as the years went by. Any mention of a tree naturally includes its branches and, apart from affiliations, each of the Line regiments includes several non-regular units which, under the National Service system and with the increasingly important rôle of the Territorial Army, are more closely integrated than ever before.

A few points regarding the following pages:—

BATTLE HONOURS: For the twelve regular and T.A. regiments, only those borne on the Colours are given. For the remainder, those italicized are borne on the Colours (except in Rifle regiments). None are yet available for World War II.

UNIFORMS: The descriptions refer to the basic, private's uniform as there is not space to include the many regimental details of officers' dress. 'Diced border', unless otherwise stated, means scarlet, green and white. 'Hose' includes hose-tops and 'red and white', &c., means diagonal stripes of these colours, crossing and blending. The present No. 1 Dress is generally described in the notes on uniforms, and only its few regimental distinctions are mentioned here.

The Royal Scots Greys (2nd Dragoons)
Royal Armoured Corps.

RAISED: 1681 as The Royal Regiment of Scotch Dragoons.
1708 — The Royal Regiment of North British Dragoons.
1713 — The 2nd or R.N.B. Regiment of Dragoons.
1877 — The 2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys).
1920 — Present title.
1941 — Mechanized.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet tunic. Bearskin cap, with white hackle on left (scarlet hackle for Band). Pantaloons and overalls, blue with single yellow stripes 1¾ in. wide. Forage cap, blue with white-vandyked band. Sergeants' arm-badge, an eagle.

1947: No. 1 Dress, forage cap as above. Blue frock, with shoulder-chains. Trousers, blue, with stripes as above. No spurs. (Badges, the grenade at the base of the hackle, and on the collars of officers, commemorates Ramillies, and the eagle —O.R.'s collar badge, all ranks' cap badge, &c.—Waterloo. The white horse of Hanover is worn by O.R.'s at the back of the bearskin cap.[1] Bandsmen wear a grenade cap badge and a yellow vandyke on the forage cap.)

BATTLE HONOURS: 'Blenheim', 'Ramillies', 'Oudenarde', 'Malplaquet', 'Dettingen', 'Warburg,' 'Willems', 'Waterloo', 'Balaclava', 'Sevastopol', 'Relief of Kimberley', 'Paardeberg', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Retreat from Mons', 'Marne 1914', 'Aisne 1914', 'Ypres 1914, '15', 'Arras 1917', 'Amiens', 'Somme 1918', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Pursuit to Mons', 'France and Flanders 1914–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: Walk: *Garb of Old Gaul.*
Trot: *Keel Row.*
Canter: *Bonnie Dundee.*
Dismounted: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Second to None.*

This regiment, alone, has authority from the Lord Lyon King of Arms, to fly the Scottish Royal Standard.

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:

Canada: The 2/10th Dragoons.
The New Brunswick Dragoons.
Australia: The 12/16th Hunter River Lancers.
New Zealand: The 1st Divisional Regiment R.N.Z.A.C. (The New Zealand Scottish).

The Scots Guards

Regimental H.Q.: Birdcage Walk, London, S.W.1

RAISED: 1642 as Argyll's Regiment.
1650 — The Footte Regiment of His Majestie's Lyffe Guards (or The Scotch Guards).
1651 — Ceased to exist after Worcester.
1660 — Re-raised. Title as in 1651.
1712 — The 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards.
1831 — The Scots Fusilier Guards.
1877 — The Scots Guards.

UNIFORM: Scarlet tunic. Facings, blue. Bearskin cap without plume. Buttons spaced in threes. Trousers, blue, with scarlet welt. Forage cap, blue, with diced border. Pipers kilted, Royal Stuart tartan, blue doublets. Feather bonnets, with red (top) and blue hackles. Hose, scarlet and green.

BATTLE HONOURS: The Sphinx, superscribed 'Egypt'. 'Namur 1695', 'Dettingen', 'Lincelles', 'Talavera', 'Barrosa', 'Fuentes d'Onor', 'Nive', 'Peninsula', 'Waterloo', 'Alma', 'Inkerman', 'Sevastopol', 'Tel-el-Kebir', 'Egypt 1882', 'Suakin 1885', 'Modder River', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Retreat from Mons', 'Marne 1914', 'Aisne 1914', 'Ypres 1914, '17', 'Festubert 1915', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Cambrai 1917, '18', 'Hindenburg Line', 'France & Flanders 1914–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: Quick time: *Highland Laddie.*
Slow time: *Garb of Old Gaul.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTOES: 1st Bn: *En! Ferus Hostis.*
2nd Bn: *Unita Fortior.*

[1] This is not worn by officers, as it commemorates an action, in the eighteenth century, in which a sudden order, 'Sections About—Charge!', was carried out so quickly that the officers had not time to regain their positions and lead their troops.

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:
Canada: The Winnipeg Grenadiers.
Australia: 3rd Bn., The Royal Australian Regiment.

The old regimental numbers are shown in parenthesis after the title.

THE ROYAL SCOTS (THE ROYAL REGIMENT) (1)
Depot: Dreghorn Camp, Colinton, Edinburgh.

RAISED: 1633 as Sir John Hepburn's Regiment.
1684 — The Royal Regiment of Foot.
1751 — The 1st or Royal Regiment.
1812 — 1st or The Royal Scots.
1821 — 1st or The Royal Regiment.
1871 — 1st or The Royal Scots Regiment.
1882 — The Royal Scots (Lothian Regiment).
1920 — Present title.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Kilmarnock bonnet, blue with diced border, red tourie and blackcock's tail. Trews of Hunting Stuart tartan. Pipers kilted, Royal Stuart tartan.[1]
1947: No. 1 Dress. Blackcock tails are worn in ceremonial order.

BATTLE HONOURS: The Sphinx, superscribed 'Egypt'. 'Tangier 1680', 'Namur 1695', 'Blenheim', 'Ramillies', 'Oudenarde', 'Malplaquet', 'Louisburg', 'Havannah', 'Egmont-op-Zee', 'St. Lucia 1803', 'Corunna', 'Busaco', 'Salamanca', 'Vittoria', 'San Sebastian', 'Nive', 'Peninsula', 'Niagara', 'Waterloo', 'Nagpore', 'Maheidpore', 'Ava', 'Alma', 'Inkerman', 'Sevastopol', 'Taku Forts', 'Pekin 1860', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Le Cateau', 'Marne 1914, '18', 'Ypres 1915, '17, '18', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Arras 1917, '18', 'Lys', 'Struma', 'Gallipoli 1915–16', 'Palestine 1917–18'.

1914–18: Thirty-five battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Dumbarton's Drums.*
Slow time: *Garb of Old Gaul.*
When Royalty is present: *The Daughter of the Regiment.*[2]

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit.*

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:
The Canadian Scottish Regiment (Princess Mary's).
The 10th, Princess Mary's Own Gurkha Rifles.

THE ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS (21)
Depot: Churchill Barracks, Ayr

RAISED: 1678 as The Earl of Mar's Regiment (Nicknamed 'The Earl of Mar's Greybreeks').
1685 — The Scotch Fuzileers.
1688 — The 21st, or Scotch Fuzileers.
1707 — The 21st, or North British Fuzileers.
1712 — The 21st, or Royal North British Fuzileers.
1877 — The 21st, Foot (Royal Scots Fusiliers)
1881 — Present title.

[1] Authorized by King George V, on tercentenary anniversary, 1933.
[2] Commemorates the birth of Queen Victoria, who was the daughter of the Colonel—the Duke of Kent.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Head-dress, sealskin cap with grenade badge and white plume on right side. Glengarry, blue with diced border. Trews of 42nd tartan.
1928: Permission, granted by King George V, for pipers to wear ceremonial Erskine tartan (the tartan of the Earl of Mar), on the regiment's 250th anniversary.
1947: No. 1 Dress, white hackle worn.
1948: The regiment authorized to wear Hunting Erskine tartan.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'Blenheim', 'Ramillies', 'Oudenarde', 'Malplaquet', 'Dettingen', 'Martinique, 1794', 'Bladensburg', 'Alma', 'Inkerman', 'Sevastopol', 'South Africa, 1879', 'Burma 1885–7', 'Tirah', 'Relief of Ladysmith', 'South Africa, 1899–1902', 'Mons', 'Marne, 1914', 'Ypres, 1914, '17, '18', 'Somme, 1916, '18', 'Arras, 1917, 18', 'Lys', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Doiran, 1917–18', 'Gallipoli, 1915–16', 'Palestine, 1917–18'.

1914–18: Eighteen battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: Band: *The British Grenadiers.*
Pipes: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nemo me Impune Lacessit.*

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:
Canada: The 54th Light A.A. Regiment, R.C.A., (Scots Fusiliers of Canada).
Australia: The 23/21 Battalion (The City of Geelong Regiment and The Victorian Rangers.)
South Africa: Prince Alfred's Guard.

The King's Own Scottish Borderers (25)

Depot: Ravensdowne, Berwick-on-Tweed.

RAISED: 1689 as The Earl of Leven's Regiment.
1689 — (After Killiecrankie) Leven's or The Edinburgh Regiment.
1751 — The 25th, or Edinburgh Regiment.
1782 — The 25th, or The Sussex Regiment.
1805 — The 25th, or The King's Own Borderers.
1887 — Present title.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Kilmarnock bonnet, blue, with diced border, red tourie and blackcock's tail. Trews of Leslie tartan. (The Earl of Leven's tartan—authorized 1898.) Pipers kilted, Royal Stuart tartan.
1947: No. 1 Dress. Blackcock feathers are worn in ceremonial order, in an unstiffened bonnet of Balmoral type. White spats are worn.

BATTLE HONOURS: The Sphinx superscribed 'Egypt'. 'Namur, 1695', 'Minden', 'Egmont-op-Zee', 'Martinique, 1809', 'Afghanistan, 1878–80', 'Chitral', 'Tirah', 'Paardeberg', 'South Africa, 1900–02', 'Mons', 'Aisne, 1914', 'Ypres, 1914, '15, '17, '18', 'Loos', 'Somme, 1916, '18', 'Arras, 1917, '18', 'Soissons-Ourcq', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Gallipoli, 1915, '16', 'Gaza'.

1914–18: Twelve battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Blue Bonnets O'er the Border.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTOES: *Nisi Dominus Frustra.*
In Veritate Religionis Confido.
Nec Aspera Terrent.

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:
Canada: The New Brunswick Scottish Regiment.
Australia: 25th Battalion (The Darling Downs Regiment).
34th Battalion (The Illawarra Regiment).

The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) (26 and 90)

Depot: Winston Barracks, Lanark.

26th raised: 1689 — By the Earl of Angus, as the Cameronians.
90th raised: 1794 — By Thomas Graham of Balgowan, as The Perthshire Volunteers (Light Infantry).
1881 — The Two regiments linked, with present title.

Uniform: 1914: Green doublet. Facings, green. Green shako, with black plume. Trews of Douglas tartan (the tartan of the Earl of Angus). Glengarry, green. Officers, 'Rifles' swords, and pouch-belts.
1947: No. 1 Dress. Black hackle worn in bonnet in ceremonial order. Officers wear black shoulder-cords and pouch-belts.

Battle honours: 'Blenheim', 'Ramillies', 'Oudenarde', 'Malplaquet', 'Mandora', 'Corunna', 'Martinique, 1809', 'Guadaloupe, 1810', 'South Africa, 1846–7', 'Sevastopol', 'Lucknow', 'Abyssinia', 'South Africa 1877–8–9', 'Relief of Ladysmith', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Mons', 'Marne 1914, '18', 'Neuve Chapelle', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Ypres 1917, '18', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Macedonia 1915, '18', 'Gallipoli 1915–16', 'Palestine 1917–18'.

1914–18: Twenty-seven battalions.

Regimental marches: Band: *Within a Mile of Edinburgh Toun.*
Pipes: 1st Bn. *Kenmuir's On An' Awa'.*
2nd Bn. *The Gathering of the Grahams.*

Affiliated regiments:
Canada: The Perth Regiment.
Australia: 26th Battalion (The Logan and Albert Regiment).
New Zealand: The Otago and Southland Regiment.
South Africa: The Witwatersrand Rifles.
The 7th Gurkha Rifles.

The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) (42 and 73)

Depot: Queen's Barracks, Perth.

42nd raised: 1739 as The 43rd, or Highland Regiment of Foot.
1749 — The 42nd, or Highland Regiment of Foot.
1758 — 42nd, or The Royal Highland Regiment.
1861 — 42nd, or The Royal Highland Regiment (The Black Watch).
1881 — The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders).
1920 — Present title.
73rd raised: 1781 — The 2nd Battalion of the 42nd.
1786 — The 73rd Highland Regiment.
1809 — 73rd ceased to wear Highland dress.
1862 — The 73rd (Perthshire) Regiment.
1881 — Again became the 2nd battalion.

Uniform: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Feather bonnet, with diced border and scarlet hackle. Regimental tartan. Sporran, white with five black tassels. Hose, red and black. Pipers, feather bonnets and Royal Stuart tartan. Glengarry, blue. A small scarlet hackle is worn in the khaki Balmoral without a badge.
1947: No. 1 Dress, scarlet hackle is worn.

Battle honours: The Sphinx superscribed 'Egypt'. 'Guadaloupe 1759', 'Martinique 1762', 'Havannah', 'North America 1763–4', 'Mangalore', 'Mysore', 'Seringapatam', 'Corunna', 'Busaco', 'Fuentes d'Onor', 'Pyrenees', 'Nivelle', 'Nive', 'Orthes', 'Toulouse', 'Peninsula', 'Waterloo', 'South Africa 1846–7, 1851–2–3',

'Alma', 'Sevastopol', 'Lucknow', 'Ashantee 1873–4', 'Tel-el-Kebir', 'Egypt 1882, 1884', 'Kirbekan', 'Nile 1884–5', 'Paardeberg', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Marne 1914, '18', 'Ypres 1914, '17, '18', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Arras 1917, '18', 'Lys', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Doiran 1917', 'Meggido', 'Kut el Amara 1917'.

1914–18: Twenty-seven battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nemo me Impune Lacessit.*

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:

The Tyneside Scottish (T.A.)
Canada: The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada.
The 59th A.A. Regiment, R.C.A. (The Lanark and Renfrew Scottish).
Australia: 30th Battalion (The New South Wales Scottish Regiment).
42nd Battalion (The Capricornia Regiment).
New Zealand: The 1st Armoured Car Regiment (New Zealand Scottish), R.N.Z.A.C.
South Africa: The Transvaal Scottish.

The Highland Light Infantry (City of Glasgow Regiment) (71 and 74)

Depot: Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow.

71ST RAISED: 1777 as The 73rd Regiment (known as McLeod's Highlanders).
1786 — The 71st Regiment.
1808 — The 71st, or Glasgow Highland Regiment.
1809 — The 71st (Highland Light Infantry) Regiment.
1810 — The 71st Highland Regiment (Light Infantry).

74TH RAISED: 1787 — The 74th Highland Regiment of Foot.
1809 — Ceased to wear Highland dress. 74th Regiment.
1845 — The 74th (Highland) Regiment.
1881 — The two regiments became 1st and 2nd Battalions of The Highland Light Infantry.
1920 — Present title.
1948 — Became a kilted regiment.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, buff. Shako, blue, with crimson, green, and white diced border, green ball-tuft and cords. Glengarry, green. Trews of Mackenzie tartan (No. 5). Bandsmen, feather bonnets, with scarlet hackle and diced border. White Highland spats were worn with trews, by officers in levee dress.

1948: No. 1 Dress, Scarlet and white hackle worn. Hose, scarlet and white. Sporran (Band), black, with three white tassels.

BATTLE HONOURS: The Castle and Key, superscribed 'Gibraltar 1780–83'. The Elephant, superscribed 'Assaye'. 'Carnatic', 'Hindustan', 'Sholingur', 'Mysore', 'Seringapatam', 'Cape of Good Hope 1806', 'Rolica', 'Vimiera', 'Corunna', 'Busaco', 'Fuentes d'Onor', 'Ciudad Rodrigo', 'Badajos', 'Almaraz', 'Salamanca', 'Vittoria', 'Pyrenees', 'Nivelle', 'Nive', 'Orthes', 'Toulouse', 'Peninsula', 'Waterloo', 'South Africa 1851–2–3', 'Sevastopol', 'Central India', 'Tel-el-Kebir', 'Egypt 1882', 'Modder River', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Mons', 'Ypres 1914, '15, '17, '18', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Arras 1917, '18', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Gallipoli 1915–16', 'Palestine 1917–18', 'Mesopotamia 1916–18', 'Archangel 1919'.

The second battalion has an 'Assaye' Colour in addition to the Queen's and Regimental Colours.

1914–18: Twenty-six battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: In column: *Blue Bonnets O'er the Border.*
Close column: *Highland Laddie.*
Marching into Barracks: *Scotland the Brave.*

AFFILIATED REGIMENT:
Canada: The Highland Light Infantry of Canada.

The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's) (72 and 78)

Depot: Fort George, Inverness-shire.

72ND RAISED: 1778 as The 78th Regiment, Seaforth's Highlanders.
1786 — The 72nd Highland Regiment.
1809 — Ceased to wear Highland dress until 1823.
1823 — The 72nd, or The Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders.

78TH RAISED: 1793 as The 78th Highland Regiment.
1794 — 2/78, named the Ross-shire Buffs. (Was amalgamated with the 1st in 1797.)
1881 — The two regiments became 1st and 2nd Battalions with present title.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, buff. Feather bonnet, with diced border and white hackle. Glengarry, blue, with diced border. Mackenzie tartan (No. 2). Sporran, white with two black tails. Hose, scarlet and white. Bandsmen, scarlet hackle.
1947: No. 1 Dress, No hackle worn.

BATTLE HONOURS: The Elephant, superscribed 'Assaye'. 'Carnatic', 'Hindustan', 'Mysore', 'Cape of Good Hope 1806', 'Maida', 'Java', 'South Africa 1835', 'Sevastopol', 'Koosh-ab', 'Persia', 'Lucknow', 'Central India', 'Peiwar Kotal', 'Charasiah', 'Kabul 1879', 'Kandahar 1880', 'Afghanistan 1878–80', 'Tel-el-Kebir', 'Egypt 1882', 'Chitral', 'Atbara', 'Khartoum', 'Paardeburg', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Marne 1914, '18', 'Ypres 1915, '17, '18', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Arras 1917, '18', 'Vimy 1917', 'Cambrai 1917, '18', 'Valenciennes', 'Palestine 1918', 'Baghdad'.

The 2nd Battalion has an 'Assaye' Colour, in addition to the Queen's and Regimental Colours.

1914–18: Nineteen battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: Band: *Blue Bonnets O'er the Border.*
Pipes: *Pibroch 'O Donuil Dhu.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTOES: *Cuidich'n Righ* (Help to the King).
Cabar Feidh (Antlers of the deer. The slogan of Seaforth.)
Tulloch Ard (The high hill. The slogan of Clan Mackenzie.)

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:
Canada: The Seaforth Highlanders of Canada.
The Pictou Highlanders.
Australia: The 27th Battalion (South Australian Scottish Regiment).
New Zealand: The Wellington Regiment (City of Wellington's Own).

The Gordon Highlanders (75 and 92)

Depot: Gordon Barracks, Aberdeen.

75TH RAISED: 1787 as The 75th Highland Regiment (known as Abercromby's)
1809 — Ceased to wear Highland dress.

1862 — The 75th, Stirlingshire Regiment.

92ND RAISED 1794 as The 100th Regiment.
1798 — The 92nd Regiment (known as The Gordon Highlanders)
1881 — The two regiments became 1st and 2nd Battalions, with present title.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, yellow. Feather bonnet, with diced border and white hackle. Glengarry, blue with diced border. Tartan, Gordon. Sporran, white with two black tails. Hose, scarlet and black. Band, scarlet (top) and white hackle.
1947: No. 1 Dress, no hackle worn.

BATTLE HONOURS: The Royal Tiger, superscribed 'India'. The Sphinx, superscribed 'Egypt'. 'Mysore', 'Seringapatam', 'Egmont-op-Zee', 'Mandora', 'Corunna', 'Fuentes d'Onor', 'Almaraz', 'Vittoria', 'Pyrenees', 'Nive', 'Orthes', 'Peninsula', 'Waterloo', 'South Africa 1835', 'Delhi 1857', 'Lucknow', 'Charasiah', 'Kabul 1879', 'Kandahar 1880', 'Afghanistan 1878–80', 'Tel-el-Kebir', 'Egypt 1882, 1884', 'Nile 1884-85', 'Chitral', 'Tirah', 'Defence of Ladysmith', 'Paardeberg', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Mons', 'Le Cateau', 'Marne 1914, '18', 'Ypres 1914, '15, '17', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Ancre 1916', 'Arras 1917, '18', 'Cambrai 1917, '18', 'Vittorio Veneto'.

1914–18: Twenty-one battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Cock o' the North* (Up to 1932, *Highland Laddie*).

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Bydand* (Watchful).

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:
Canada: The 48th Highlanders of Canada.
Australia: 5th Battalion (The Victorian Scottish Regiment).
South Africa: The Queen's Own Cape Town Highlanders.

The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders (79)

Depot: Cameron Barracks, Inverness.

RAISED: 1793 as The Cameronian Volunteers.
1794 — The 79th Regiment of Cameron Highlanders.
1873 — The 79th, or The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders.
1881 — Present title. The only regiment in the army with one Battalion.
1897 — The 2nd Battalion raised.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Feather bonnet, with diced border and white hackle. Glengarry, blue. Tartan, Cameron of Erracht. Sporran, black with two white tails. Hose, scarlet and green. Pipers, Royal Stuart tartan (Royal permission granted in 1934, on the regiment's 150th anniversary).
1947: No. 1 Dress, blue hackle worn. This was authorized in 1951 and is also worn in the khaki Balmoral.

BATTLE HONOURS: The Sphinx, superscribed 'Egypt'. 'Egmont-op-Zee', 'Corunna', 'Busaco', 'Fuentes d'Onor', 'Salamanca', 'Pyrenees', 'Nivelle', 'Nive', 'Toulouse', 'Peninsula', 'Waterloo', 'Alma', 'Sevastopol', 'Lucknow', 'Tel-el-Kebir', 'Egypt 1882', 'Nile 1884–5', 'Atbara', 'Khartoum', 'South Africa 1900–02', 'Marne 1914, '18', 'Aisne 1914', 'Ypres 1914, '15, '17, '18', 'Neuve Chapelle', 'Loos' 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Delville Wood', 'Arras 1917, '18', 'Sambre', 'Macedonia 1915–18'.

1914–18: Thirteen battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: Quick time: *Pibroch O' Donuil Dhu* (Pipes).
Slow time: *Logie O' Buchan* (Band).

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:

Canada: The Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa (M.G.).
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada.

Australia: 16th Battalion (The Cameron Highlanders of Western Australia).
37/39 Battalion (The Henty Regiment).
52nd Battalion (The Gippsland Regiment).

New Zealand: The Otago and Southland Regiment.

THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS (PRINCESS LOUISE'S) (91 and 93)

Depot: The Castle, Stirling.

91ST RAISED: 1794 as The 98th (known as The Argyle Regiment).
1798 — The 91st.
1809 — Ceased to wear Highland dress.
1864 — The 91st Argyllshire Highlanders.
1872 — The 91st (Princess Louise's) Argyllshire Highlanders.

93RD RAISED: 1800 as The 93rd (known as the Sutherland Regiment).
1861 — The 93rd (Sutherland Highlanders).
1881 — The two regiments became 1st and 2nd Battalions of Princess Louise's (Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders). (For a short time it was 'Sutherland and Argyll'.)
1920 — Present title.

UNIFORM: 1914: Scarlet doublet. Facings, yellow. Feather bonnet, with scarlet and white diced border and white hackle. Glengarry, blue with scarlet and white diced border. Tartan, 42nd. Sporran, black with six white tassels (badger's head for officers and sergeants). Hose, scarlet and white. Double badge, uniting those of the two regiments. Band, scarlet hackle.
1947: No. 1 Dress, no hackle worn.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'Cape of Good Hope 1806', 'Rolica', 'Vimiera', 'Corunna', 'Pyrenees', 'Nivelle', 'Nive', 'Orthes', 'Toulouse', 'Peninsula', 'South Africa 1846–7, 1851–2–3', 'Alma', 'Balaclava', 'Sevastopol', 'Lucknow', 'South Africa 1879', 'Modder River', 'Paardeberg', 'South Africa 1899–1902', 'Mons', 'Le Cateau', 'Marne 1914, '18', 'Ypres 1915, '17, '18', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Arras, 1917 '18', 'Cambrai 1917, '18', 'Doiran 1917, '18', 'Gaza'.

1914–18: Twenty-seven battalions.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: 1st Bn.: *The Campbells are Coming.*
2nd Bn.: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTOES: *Ne Obliviscaris.*
Sans Peur.

AFFILIATED REGIMENTS:

Canada: The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's).
The Calgary Highlanders.

Australia: 41/2 Battalion (The Byron Scottish Regiment).

The numbers after the titles of Yeomanry regiments are orders of precedence.

THE AYRSHIRE YEOMANRY (EARL OF CARRICK'S OWN) R.A.C., (T.A.) (7)

RAISED: 1793 as The Ayrshire Yeomanry Cavalry, by Lord Archibald Kennedy.
1900–02 — Provided personnel for 17th Company, Scottish Battalion, Imperial Yeomanry.

1917 — Became infantry and, with The Lanarkshire Yeomanry, formed The 12th (Ayr and Lanark Yeomanry) Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers in the 'Broken Spur' Division. (So named from its Divisional sign.)

1939–45 — 151st and 152nd (Ayrshire Yeomanry) Field Regiments R.A. Now a unit of the R.A.C. (T.A.)

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900-02', 'Ypres 1918', 'France and Flanders 1918', 'Gallipoli 1915', 'Rumani', 'Egypt 1916-17', 'Gaza', 'Jerusalem', 'Tell 'Asur', 'Palestine 1917–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Garb of Old Gaul.*

The Lanarkshire Yeomanry R.A.C., (T.A.) (15)

RAISED: 1819 as The Upper Ward Yeomanry.

1852 — The Lanarkshire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry.

1900 — Provided personnel for the 17th Company, 6th Battalion, Imperial Yeomanry

1901 — The Lanarkshire Imperial Yeomanry.

1908 — The Lanarkshire Yeomanry.

1917 — Became infantry and, with the Ayrshire Yeomanry, formed The 12th (Ayr and Lanark Yeomanry) Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers.

1939–45 — The 155th and 156th Field Regiments R.A.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900–02', 'Ypres 1918', 'France and Flanders 1918', 'Gallipoli 1915', 'Egypt 1916–17', 'Gaza', 'Jerusalem', 'Tell 'Asur', 'Palestine 1917–18'.

The Lothians and Border Horse Yeomanry R.A.C., (T.A.) (36)

RAISED: 1797 as The East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry. (Two other regiments raised at the same time, The Berwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry and the Royal Midlothian Yeomanry Cavalry, were disbanded in 1827 and 1871, and the regiment carries on the traditions of all three.)

1888 — The Lothians and Berwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry.

1900–02 — Personnel from the regiment formed the 19th Company, 6th (Scottish) Battalion Imperial Yeomanry.

1908 — The Lothians and Border Horse.

1914–18 — 'B' Squadron joined the 17th Battalion Royal Scots as infantry.

1921 — The 19th (Lothians and Border Horse) Armoured Car Company, Royal Tank Corps.

1936 — Became an armoured regiment.

1939 — A second regiment added.

1939–45 — The 1st Regiment served as a flail tank regiment, the 2nd as an armoured regiment.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900–01', 'France and Flanders 1915', 'Doiran 1918', 'Macedonia 1915–18'.

The Queen's Own Royal Glasgow Yeomanry R.A.C., (T.A.) (37)

RAISED: 1796 as The Glasgow Light Horse.

1822 — Disbanded.

1848 — Re-raised as The Glasgow and Lower Ward of Lanarkshire Yeomanry Cavalry.

1849 — Title of 'Queen's Own Royal' conferred by H.M. Queen Victoria.

1900–02 — Provided personnel for the 6th (Scottish) Battalion, Imperial Yeomanry.
1921 — Became Field Artillery.
1938 — 54th Anti-Tank Regiment R.A.
1939 — A second regiment raised—The 64th A.T. Regiment R.A.
1946 — In 'suspended animation'.
1947 — A unit of the R.A.C. (T.A.) with present title.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900–01', 'Loos', 'Ypres 1917', '18', 'Passchendaele', 'Somme 1918', 'Bapaume 1918', 'Ancre 1918', 'Courtrai', 'France and Flanders 1915–18'.

The Fife and Forfar Yeomanry R.A.C., (T.A.) (40)

RAISED: 1794–8 as The Forfar Regiment and Fife Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry. These had an intermittent existence.
1860 — The Fifeshire Mounted Rifle Volunteers was raised.
1876 — The Forfar Light Horse Volunteer Corps was raised.
1900–02 Both regiments provided personnel for 20th Company Imperial Yeomanry.
1901 — The Fife and Forfar Imperial Yeomanry.
1908 — The Fife and Forfar Yeomanry.
1916 — Converted to infantry as the 14th (Fife and Forfar Yeomanry) Battalion The Black Watch.
1939 — Formed two R.A.C. regiments.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900–01', 'Somme 1918', 'Bapaume 1918', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Epéhy', 'France and Flanders 1918', 'Gallipoli 1915', 'Egypt 1915–17', 'Gaza', 'Jerusalem', 'Palestine 1917–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Wee Cooper o' Fife.*

The Lovat Scouts

RAISED: 1900 as Lovat's Scouts, by Lord Lovat. It was a corps of gamekeepers and deer-stalkers, used in South Africa as specialists in reconnaissance, intelligence, &c, and, when required, as an ordinary Mounted Infantry regiment.
1903 — Two Yeomanry regiments, the 1st and 2nd Lovat's Scouts were formed.
1914–18 — Served in the Middle East and were later used on special duties in France, as snipers, observers, &c.
1939–45 — Regiment trained as specialist ski troops and in mountain warfare. After the war they were amalgamated with the Scottish Horse, R.A.C. (T.A.)

TARTAN: Fraser.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900–02', 'France and Flanders 1916–18', 'Macedonia 1916–18', 'Gallipoli 1915', 'Egypt 1915–16'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *The Lovat Scouts.*

The Scottish Horse R.A.C., (T.A.) (53)

RAISED: 1901 as The Scottish Horse, at Johannesburg, by the Marquis of Tullibardine—two regiments which were disbanded after the Boer War. A third regiment was raised in 1902, from men who had served in the war, and was disbanded in 1908. In 1903 Lord Tullibardine raised two more regiments of Yeomanry, with the same title, in Scotland.

1914–18 — Expanded to nine regiments. 1st and 2nd regiments became infantry, as the 13th (Scottish Horse) Battalion The Black Watch.
1919 — Disbanded.
1920 — Re-raised.
1940 — Became the 79th and 80th (Scottish Horse) Medium Regiments Royal Artillery.

UNIFORM: Tartan, Murray of Atholl; pipers, Murray of Tullibardine. (In 1902 the regiment wore bush hats with blackcock feathers, and Athol jackets, with cartridge pleats and cuff-slashes.)

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900–02', 'Hindenburg Line', 'St. Quentin Canal', 'Beaurevoir', 'Selle', 'Sambre', 'France and Flanders 1918', 'Macedonia 1916–18', 'Gallipoli 1915', 'Rumani', 'Egypt 1915–16'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *The Scottish Horse.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The 4/7 Royal Dragoon Guards.

The London Scottish, The Gordon Highlanders (T.A.)

RAISED: 1859 — under the auspices of The Caledonian Society and Highland Society.
1860 — 15th Middlesex (London Scottish) Rifle Volunteer Corps.
1880 — 7th Middlesex (London Scottish) Rifle Volunteers.
1900–02 — Provided personnel to serve in South Africa, with the Gordon Highlanders, City of London Imperial Volunteers, Imperial Yeomanry, and other units.
1908 — 14th Battalion, County of London Regiment (London Scottish).
1914 — The 1st Battalion was the first Territorial battalion to go into action, at Messines 31st October 1914, sustaining 394 casualties, having landed in France on 16th September 1914.
1936 — Present title. The regiment had three battalions during both the World Wars.

UNIFORM: Lord Elcho, the first Commanding Officer, said: 'Of all the God-forsaken dress for soldiers, red coats with white pipe-clayed belts was the most so . . .', and he chose the colour Elcho, or Hodden grey. Full dress, Glengarry, blue, with blackcock's tail. Doublet, plaid; kilt and hose, Elcho grey. Facings, blue. Lace, drab. N.C.O.'s 'chevrons, blue. Sporran, grey goatskin, with two black tails and brown leather top. Belts, brown leather. Officers and W.O.'s Class I, pouch-belts, broadswords, dirks and sgian dubhs. Garter flashes, blue.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900–02', 'Messines 1914', 'Ypres 1914, '17, '18', 'Givenchy 1914', 'Loos', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Arras 1917, '18', 'Cambrai 1917, '18', 'Valenciennes', 'Doiran 1917', 'Jerusalem'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Strike Sure.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
Canada: The Toronto Scottish Regiment (M.G.)

The Liverpool Scottish, The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders (T.A.)

RAISED: 1900 as The 8th (Scottish) Volunteer Battalion, The King's Liverpool Regiment.
1908 — 10th (Scottish) Battalion, The King's Liverpool Regiment (T.F.)
1914–18 — Two additional battalions raised.
1937 — The Liverpool Scottish, The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders (T.A.)

1942 — The 2nd Battalion became The 89th Anti-Tank Regiment R.A. (T.A.)

1947 — The 1st Battalion motorized. The 2nd Battalion became The 655th Light Anti-Aircraft/Searchlight Regiment R.A., (T.A.)

UNIFORM: Tartan, Forbes. (Original full dress: Glengarry, blue, with diced border and blackcock's tail. Doublet, drab, with scarlet facings and piping and silver buttons. Sporran, grey with two black tails. Hose, scarlet and black.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1902', 'Bellewaarde', 'Somme 1916', 'Ypres 1917', 'Pilckem', 'Menin Road', 'Passchendaele', 'Cambrai 1917', 'Lys', 'Estaires', 'France and Flanders 1914–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Glendauruel Highlanders.*

The Tyneside Scottish, The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) (T.A.)

RAISED: 1914 as The Tyneside Scottish. Four battalions formed the Tyneside Scottish Brigade,—20th, 23rd Battalions Northumberland Fusiliers, and two reserve battalions were raised.

1939 — 12th Battalion Durham Light Infantry (Tyneside Scottish)., (T.A.)

1939 — 1st Battalion Tyneside Scottish, The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment). Now a Light Anti-Anticraft Regiment.

TARTAN: 42nd.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

DISBANDED IN 1949 (SERVICE UNITS):

The Highland Regiment.
The Lowland Regiment.

The Queen's Body Guard for Scotland: Royal Company of Archers

FOUNDED: 1676 as His Majestie's Company of Archers (An archery club).

1704 — Granted Royal Charter by Queen Anne.

1822 — Attended on King George IV, and was appointed King's Body Guard for Scotland.

1899 — Present title.

H.Q. Archers' Hall, Buccleuch Street, Edinburgh.

FIELD DRESS (GENTLEMAN): Kilmarnock bonnet, with crimson tourie, eagle's feather, green and white cockade and badge. Bonnet, tunic and trousers of border green, trimmed with black mohair showing crimson 'lights'. Black leather sword-belt and scabbard. Cross-hilted sword. Arrow cleaner. Bow case (or baldric), green, with fringe and trimming, and two badges. Pair of arrows. Bow. White gloves. Badges and mountings of frosted gilt. (Feathers in bonnet vary according to rank.)

ESTABLISHMENT: 400, with 27 officers, all with previous service in the Forces. Commanded by a Captain-General, who is also Gold Stick-in-waiting, for Scotland.

COLOURS: Presented in 1911 by King George V, replacing those given by King William IV.

REDDENDO: Queen Anne's charter included a tribute, when asked for, of 'one pair of barbed arrows'. (A pair equals three.) A Reddendo has been presented on eleven occasions, and in the case of Queen Elizabeth, it took the form of a brooch, handed to Her Majesty by the President of the Council, Captain the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. The President is Silver Stick for Scotland.

ARCHERY: The Company maintains its proficiency with the long bow, which can still be a very effective weapon, in skilled hands, and shoots a triennial match against the Woodmen of the Forest of Arden (Warwickshire), with whom it has maintained a friendly association since the eighteenth century.

HIGHLAND REGIMENTS RAISED AND DISBANDED BETWEEN 1745 AND 1800

Name of Regiment	*Date raised; by whom*	*Service*	*Disbanded*
Loudoun's Hrs.	1745 Earl of Loudoun.	The '45. Flanders, 1747–8	1748
77th Montgomery's Hrs.	1757 Hon. Archibald Montgomery	N. America, 1757–63	1763
78th Fraser's Hrs.	1757 Hon. Simon Fraser	N. America, 1757–63	1763
87th and 88th Keith's and Campbell's Hrs.	1759	Germany, 1760–2	1763
89th Highland Regt.	1759 Duchess of Gordon	India, 1761–5	1765
101st Johnstone's Hrs.	1760	Drafted to 87th and 88th	1763
100th Regiment	1761 Major Colin Campbell of Kilberrie	Martinique, 1761–3	1763
105th The Queen's Hrs.	1761 Col. David Graeme of Gorthy	Ireland, 1762–3	1763
Maclean's Hrs.	1761 Capt. Allan Maclean of Torloisk	Drafted	1763
113th Regt., R. Highland Volunteers	1761 C.O., Maj. James Hamilton	Home	1763
71st Fraser's Hrs.	1775 Maj.-Gen. Simon Fraser (*See above, 78th Hrs.*)	N. America, 1775–81	1783
74th Argyll Hrs.	1778 Col. John Campbell of Barbreck	N. America, 1779–83	1783
76th MacDonald's Hrs.	1777 Lord MacDonald of Sleat	N. America, 1779–83	1784
77th Atholl Hrs.	1778 The Duke of Atholl	Ireland, 1778–83	1783
81st Aberdeenshire Highland Regt.	1778 Col. The Hon. William Gordon	Ireland, 1778–82	1783
84th R. Highland Emigrant Regt.	1775 Lt.-Col. Allan Maclean. (In Canada.)	N. America, 1775–84	1784
97th Strathspey Regt.	1794 Sir James Grant of Grant	As Marines. Drafted	1795
116th Perthshire Hrs.	1794 Maj-Gen. Alexander Campbell of Monzie	Ireland. Drafted	1794
132nd Highland Regt.	1794 Col. Duncan Cameron of Callart	Drafted	1794
133rd Highland Regt.	1794 Col. Simon Fraser	Drafted	1794

The Scots Brigade (old 94th):

1793 — Three battalions, raised under Col. Ferrier.

1794 — A fourth battalion, under Col. Francis Dundas.

Wore Highland dress until 1809. Served in India, 1796–1809, and in the Peninsular War. Disbanded in Dublin, 1818. The 94th, revived later became 2nd Battalion Connaught Rangers.

From such records as are available, it appears that most of these regiments were uniformed similarly to the 42nd Highlanders, the facings being of various colours. The 71st (Fraser's revived in 1775) wore a red hackle (*See* Ch. III).

There were also six Fencible Regiments (Service regiments), raised for home defence and disbanded, between 1759 and 1793, and thirty-six regiments between 1793 and 1802.

APPENDIX II

THE SCOTTISH REGIMENTS OF THE CANADIAN ARMY

Canada, the nearest Dominion, with only the sea between it and Scotland, and with its islands and forest-clad hills, and a climate where a Scot can feel at home, has attracted very large numbers of Scottish emigrants—specially from the Highlands.

So it is not surprising that the Canadian Army has the largest contingent of Scottish units outside the old country.

It will be seen, from the following list, that the oldest existing Canadian Scottish regiments date their official pedigree from the 1860's, roughly coinciding with the revival of the Volunteers in Britain, when France was once again viewed with suspicion. But some of them can trace a less orthodox ancestry much farther back—to the old Militia units, which had an intermittent existence from the days of Governor Simcoe and Rogers' Rangers, and fought in numerous campaigns, against Indians, Americans, rebels, &c. Outstanding among the districts where Highland units were raised again and again, to meet threats and emergencies, are the counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, where Scottish settlers had concentrated from about 1783 onwards, and the name 'Glengarry' is prominent among the early units.

Lieut.-Col. Carmichael, Particular Service, said in a letter to Lieut.-General Sir James MacDonell, Second-in-Command, H.M. Forces in Canada, dated December 1840: 'I beg to state that the County of Glengarry has, on every occasion, been distinguished for good conduct, and will, in any emergency, turn out more fighting men in proportion to its population, than any other in her Majesty's Dominions.'

For a long time service in the Militia was compulsory, that is, the required numbers of men were selected by ballot, and there were two classes of Militia—the Active and the Volunteer or Sedentary. The classifications and organization were frequently changed, and the whole system was sorted out and codified in the Militia Act of 1855.

The Boer War of 1899–1902 was the first large-scale overseas campaign, to which the Dominions contributed troops, and, of course, only volunteers were sent. Whole regiments offered to go, but were usually not accepted as complete units. Instead composite battalions, &c., were made up from numerous drafts.

In 1914 the scope of the war was not fully realized and it was thought that only a limited number of battalions would go overseas, and that, consequently it would be invidious to single out certain units. So, to give all an equal chance, each was asked to send a quota of volunteers, who would be formed into composite battalions with Canadian Expeditionary Force numbers. Thus the failure to make use of the existing regimental organization caused considerable heart-burning among the old regiments and meant that Commanding Officers of new battalions had to begin at ground level to build up their organization and cultivate *esprit de corps* among men of many regiments, each of whom naturally thought his own unit the best. The Scottish regiments, in most cases, sent men to new Scottish battalions and, later, whole battalions (with C.E.F. numbers) were organized by the pre-war regiments. All this reshuffling inevitably caused friction and delay, but the spirit of men who only wanted to get to the war and

help to win it, overcame the difficulties, and the lists of battle honours show the part they played when they eventually reached their destination.

In 1921 there was a general re-sorting and reorganization and this was repeated after World War II, in 1946, when the Canadian forces were re-designated as the Canadian Army—Active and Reserve.

All the existing Scottish regiments belong to the Reserve Army, which is organized on similar lines to the Territorial Army in Britain, except that all are volunteers. The Canadian Army now has behind it the traditions of service in three great wars, in which the 'citizen-soldier', after the necessary intensive training and 'shake-down' period, showed that he could do as well as the regulars. This is in addition to the earlier campaigns in its home country and thus it is acquiring a history comparable with that of the British Army. Now, in peacetime (so-called), Canada is providing troops, including Scottish units, for overseas service. The 1st and 2nd CANADIAN HIGHLAND BATTALIONS, re-designated 1st and 2nd BATTALIONS THE BLACK WATCH (ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT) OF CANADA, were formed in 1951 and 1952 respectively, for service in Germany and Korea. In each case a company was provided by each of the following Reserve Army units—the BLACK WATCH (RHR) OF CANADA, the NORTH NOVA SCOTIA HIGHLANDERS, the 48th HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA, and the CANADIAN SCOTTISH REGIMENT (PRINCESS MARY'S).

It will be seen that full dress is described in the list of Scottish regiments and the position is that regiments which have it, or can provide it at their own expense, are permitted to wear it for ceremonial occasions. In most cases the supply, if any, is limited to the pipers and bandsmen and an occasional guard of honour, but one or two regiments, which have husbanded their resources carefully, have enough to fit out two or three hundred men. Highland dress is now exceedingly expensive. For instance, a kilt costs about $35.00 and a feather bonnet about $75.00. Blue facings do not necessarily denote a 'Royal' regiment, for which there is actually no distinctive dress.

Pipe bands are on the increase in various parts of the world and, as instances, the R.C.A.F. stationed in England has one, and more unexpectedly, the U.S. Sixth Army has one which was formed about 1950. This was sponsored by officers who served with British units between 1942 and 1945, and is another example of the growing feeling of comradeship between the Forces of these Allies.

SOME EARLY MILITIA UNITS WITH SCOTTISH CONNECTIONS

84TH HIGHLANDERS (ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS)
1775–83

Two battalions.

UNIFORM: Similar to the 42nd.

THE ROYAL CANADIAN VOLUNTEER REGIMENT OF FOOT
1796–1802

Two battalions. The 2nd contained many Scots from Co. Glengarry.
Lieut.-Colonel John MacDonell.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Try Us.*

UNIFORM: Coat, red. Facings, blue. Breeches, grey.

THE KING'S ROYAL REGIMENT OF NEW YORK
(Sir John Johnston's Greens)

American War of Independence period. Many Scots from Mohawk Valley.

UNIFORM: Coat, green. Breeches, white.

The Glengarry Light Infantry Fencible Regiment
1812–16

Colonel Edward Baynes.

UNIFORM: Green. Facings, scarlet.

SERVICE: Salmon River, Ogdensburg, York, Fort George, Sackett's Harbour, Oswego, Lundy's Lane, Fort Erie, Lyon's Creek, Michillimackinac.

BATTLE HONOUR: 'Niagara'.

(The Glengarry Fencibles, raised in Scotland, 1794, settled in the Glengarry district, where this regiment was raised, in 1804.)

First and Second Regiments of Glengarry Militia
1812–15

1ST BATTALION: Lieut.-Colonel Alexander McMillan.

2ND BATTALION: Lieut.-Colonel Alexander MacDonell.

UNIFORM: Green jacket. Facings, scarlet. Shako. Trousers, blue, gunmouth.

SERVICE: Ogdensburg, Salmon River, Ogdensburg 1813, Hoople's Creek.

1st Regiment of Dundas Militia

Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Thomas Fraser.

SERVICE: Toussaint's Island, Prescott, Salmon River, Ogdensburg 1813.

1st Regiment of Stormont Militia

Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Neil McLean.

SERVICE: Ogdensburg, Hoople's Creek, Chrysler's Farm, Salmon River.

1st Regiment of Prince Edward Militia

Colonel Archibald MacDonell.

1st or Charlottenburg Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders
1837–8

Colonel Alexander Fraser.

2nd or Lancaster Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders
1837–8

Colonel Donald MacDonell.

3rd or Lochiel Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders
1837–8

Colonel Alexander Chisholm.

4th or Kenyon Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders
1837–8

Colonel Angus MacDonell.

(At a march-past before Sir John Colborne, Private Lewis Grant, who was 6 ft. 7 in. tall, carried a brass three-pounder gun on his shoulders.)

The Williamstown Regiment of Glengarry Highlanders
1837–42

Côte St. George Highland Company
1838–42

The Lincoln Scots
1837–8

The Royal Quebec Volunteers
1839

No. 6 was a Highland Company, wore trews of Rob Roy tartan.

The report of the A.G. Militia, in 1857, gave the following:

ACTIVE MILITIA (CLASS A) HIGHLAND COMPANIES: Montreal (Captain MacPherson), Toronto (Captain Smith), London (Captain Moffat); VOLUNTEER MILITIA (CLASS B) HIGHLAND COMPANYS at Toronto, Hamilton, London, Kingston.

Existing and Recently Disbanded Regiments

The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada

ORGANIZED: 1862 as 5th Battalion, Royal Light Infantry.
1875 — 5th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers.
1880 — 5th Regiment, Royal Scots Fusiliers.
1884 — 5th Regiment, Royal Scots of Canada.
1906 — 5th Regiment, Royal Highlanders of Canada.
1920 — The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders) of Canada.
1935 — Present title.

H.Q.: Montreal, Quebec.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 5.

PERPETUATES: 13th, 42nd and 73rd Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment). Red hackle[1] worn from 1895. Royal Stuart tartan for pipers, 1901.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa, 1899–1900', 'Ypres 1915 '17', 'Gravenstafel', '*St. Julien*', 'Festubert 1915', '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Somme* 1916', 'Pozières', 'Flers-Courcelette', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', 'Ancre 1916', '*Arras* 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', 'Arleux', 'Scarpe 1917 '18', 'Hill 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Drocourt-Quéant', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Canal du Nord*', '*Pursuit to Mons*', '*France and Flanders* 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Highland Laddie*
Who saw the 42nd?

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment).

The Perth Regiment

ORGANIZED: 1866 as 28th Perth Battalion of Infantry.
1900 — 28th Perth Regiment.
1920 — The Perth Regiment.
1936 — The Perth Regiment (M.G.).
1941 — The Perth Regiment (Motor).
1946 — Present title.

HQ: Stratford, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECENDENCE: 16.

[1] The red hackle was then only a choice of colour, as affiliation with the Black Watch did not occur until 1905.

PERPETUATES: 110th Battalion, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Glengarry, green, with green and white diced border. Tartan, Douglas. (A kilted regiment from 1946). Sporran, Grey, with three black tassels. Hose, Douglas tartan. Garter-flashes, green. Band wears trews.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915', 'Festubert 1915'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Bonnie Dundee.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Audax et cautus.*

ALLIED REGIMENTS:
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles).
The Otago Regiment, of New Zealand.
26th Battalion, of Australia.
The Witwatersrand Rifles, of South Africa.

The Highland Light Infantry of Canada

ORGANIZED: 1886 as 29th 'Waterloo' Battalion of Infantry.
1900 — 29th Waterloo Regiment.
1915 — 29th Regiment (Highland Light Infantry of Canada).
1920 — Present title.

H.Q.: Galt, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 17.

PERPETUATES: 34th and 111th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Glengarry, green. Scarlet doublet. Facings, buff. Trews, Mackenzie tartan Became a kilted regiment in 1935. Pipers and bandsmen, feather bonnet, with red hackle. Sporran, black, with three white tassels. Hose, pipers: Mackenzie tartan; regiment: red and white. A red and white hackle is worn in the blue Balmoral, which has a diced border and green tourie.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Somme* 1916', '*Arras* 1917, '18', '*Hill* 70', '*Ypres* 1917', '*Amiens*', '*Hindenburg Line*', '*Pursuit to Mons*'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Seann Triubhas* 'Whistle o'er the Lave o't'.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Defence, not defiance.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Highland Light Infantry (City of Glasgow Regiment).

The Lorne Scots (Peel, Dufferin and Halton Regiment)

ORGANIZED:

1866 — 20th Halton Bn. of Infantry.
1872 — 20th Halton Bn. of Rifles.
1881 — 20th Halton Bn., Lorne Rifles.
1900 — 20th Halton Regiment, Lorne Rifles.
1909 — 20th Regt. (Halton Rifles).
1920 — The Halton Rifles.
1931 — The Lorne Rifles (Scottish).

1866 — 36th Peel Bn. of Infantry.
1900 — 36th Peel Regiment.
1920 — The Peel Regiment.
1923 — The Peel and Dufferin Regt.

1936 — The two regiments amalgamated, with present title.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 18.

PERPETUATES: 37th, 74th, 76th, 126th, 164th, and 234th Battalions, C.E.F.

HQ: Bramton, Ontario.

UNIFORM: Feather bonnet, with white hackle. Glengarry, blue, with diced border. Doublet, scarlet. Facings, white. Tartan, Campbell of Argyll. Sporran, white, with two black tails. Hose, regimental tartan. Full dress worn only by Pipers and Band. Regiment wore trews of regimental tartan, but became kilted in 1954.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915, '17', 'Festubert 1915', '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Somme* 1916', '*Arras* 1917, '18', '*Hill* 70', '*Amiens*', '*Hindenburg Line*', '*Pursuit to Mons*'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *The Campbells are Coming.*
John Peel.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Pro Aris et Focis.*

ALLIED REGIMENTS:

The Lancashire Fusiliers.
The Royal Ulster Rifles.

The Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry Highlanders

ORGANIZED: 1868 as 59th Stormont and Glengarry Battalion of Infantry.
1900 — 59th Stormont and Glengarry Regiment.
1920 — The Stormont and Glengarry Regiment.
1922 — The Dundas, Stormont and Glengarry Highlanders.
1922 — Present title.

HQ: The Armouries, Cornwall, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 20.

PERPETUATES: 154th Battalion, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: 1904: Glengarry, blue with diced border. Doublet, scarlet. Facings, blue. Trews, Sutherland tartan. Pipers, kilts of Clan Ranald tartan.
1922: Whole regiment kilted. Sporran, black with two white tails. Hose: officers, MacDonell of Glengarry; o.r.'s, red and green. Tartan MacDonell of Glengarry. Pipers wear Glengarries of 'Midnight Blue Glen', and white sporrans with black tails.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'Hill 70', '*Ypres* 1917', '*Amiens*', 'Arras 1918', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Pursuit to Mons*'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Bonnie Dundee.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Dileas Gu Bas.*

ALLIED REGIMENT: Nil.

The New Brunswick Scottish

ORGANISED:

1872 — 62nd St. John Bn. of Infantry
1882 — 62nd Bn. Saint John Fusiliers
1900 — 62nd Regt., Saint John Fusiliers
1920 — The Saint John Fusiliers
1936 — The Saint John Fusiliers (M.G.)
1870 — 74th Bn. of Infantry.
1900 — 74th Regiment.
1903 — 74th Regiment, The Brunswick Rangers.
1920 — The New Brunswick Rangers
1946 — The two regiments were amalgamated, to form The South New Brunswick Regiment.
1946 — Present title.

HQ: Saint John, New Brunswick.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 30.

PERPETUATES: 26th, 55th, 115th, 145th, and 236th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Glengarry, blue, with diced border. Doublet, scarlet. Facings, blue. Tartan, Leslie (Dress). Sporran, white, with two black tails. Hose, scarlet and black. Pipers, blue doublets. Bandsmen, trews of Leslie (Dress) tartan. Full dress worn only by pipers and bandsmen.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*South Africa* 1899–1900, 1902', 'Mount Sorrel', '*Somme* 1916, '18', 'Flers-Courcelette', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', '*Arras* 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', 'Arleux', 'Scarpe 1917, '18', 'Hill 70', '*Ypres* 1917', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', '*Hindenburg Line*', '*Canal du Nord*', '*Cambrai* 1918', 'Pursuit to Mons', '*France and Flanders* 1915 '18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Blue Bonnets O'er The Border.*
Highland Laddie.
Pibroch o' Donald Dhu.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nunquam Non Paratus.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The King's Own Scottish Borderers.

The Pictou Highlanders (motor)

ORGANIZED: 1871 as Colchester and Hants Provisional Battalion of Infantry.
1871 — 78th Colchester and Hants, or Highlanders Battalion of Infantry.
1879 — 78th Colchester, Hants and Pictou Battalion of Infantry, 'Highlanders'.
1900 — 78th Colchester, Hants and Pictou Regiment, 'Highlanders'.
1910 — 78th Pictou Regiment 'Highlanders'.
1921 — The Pictou Highlanders.
1946 — Present title.

H.Q.: New Glasgow, Nova Scotia.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 33.

PERPETUATES: 17th and 246th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs. The Duke of Albany's), except for regimental badges, &c. Bugle strings, Royal.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'Ypres 1915', '*Festubert* 1915', '*Mount Sorrel*', 'Somme 1916', 'Amiens'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Pibroch o' Donald Dhu.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Cuidich'N Righ.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's).

The North Nova Scotia Highlanders

ORGANIZED: 1871 — Cumberland Provisional Battalion of Infantry.
1885 — 93rd Cumberland Battalion of Infantry.
1900 — 93rd Cumberland Regiment.
1920 — The Cumberland Regiment.
1927 — The Cumberland Highlanders.

The 70th Colchester and Hants Regiment, organized 1910, and The 81st Hants Regiment, organized 1914, were amalgamated in 1920, to form The 76th Colchester and Hants Rifles.

In 1936, The Cumberland Highlanders, The Colchester and Hants Rifles, and 'C' Company, 6th Machine-Gun Battalion, were amalgamated to form The North Nova Scotia Highlanders (M.G.).

1941 — Present title.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 34.

PERPETUATES: 25th, 106th, and 193rd Battalions, C.E.F.

HQ: Amherst, Nova Scotia.

UNIFORM: Glengarry, blue, with diced border. Doublet, scarlet. Facings, white. Tartan, Murray of Atholl. Sporran, white with five black tassels. Hose, scarlet and green. Green garter flashes. Full dress worn only by pipers and drummers.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*South Africa* 1899–1900', '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Flers-Courcelette*', '*Arras* 1917, '18, '*Vimy* 1917', '*Hill* 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', '*Cambrai* 1918', 'Arleux', 'Ypres 1917, '18', 'Somme 1916, '18', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', 'Scarpe 1917, '18', 'Hindenburg Line', 'Canal du Nord', 'Pursuit to Mons', 'France and Flanders 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *The Atholl Highlanders.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The South Staffordshire Regiment.

The Cape Breton Highlanders

ORGANIZED: 1871 as Victoria Provisional Battalion of Infantry.
1879 — Converted to a Highland unit.
1885 — 94th Victoria Battalion of Infantry (Argyll Highlanders).
1900 — 94th Victoria Regiment (Argyll Highlanders).
1920 — Present title.

HQ: Sydney, Nova Scotia.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 35.

PERPETUATES: 85th and 185th Battlions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's), excepting regimental badges, &c. The Pipe-Major wears a powder-horn in ceremonial dress.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Arras*, 1917, '18', '*Vimy*, 1917', '*Ypres* 1917', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', '*Drocourt-Queant*', '*Hindenburg Line*', '*Canal du Nord*', '*Valenciennes*', 'Sambre', '*France and Flanders* 1917–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Siol na fear fearail.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Cheshire Regiment.

The Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa (M.G.)

ORGANIZED: 1881 as 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Battalion of Rifles.
1900 — 43rd Regiment 'Ottawa and Carleton Rifles'.
1902 — 43rd Regiment, Duke of Cornwall's Own Rifles.
1920 — The Ottawa Regiment (Duke of Cornwall's Own).
1922 — The Ottawa Highlanders.
1933 — The Cameron Highlanders of Ottawa.
1936 — Present title. (Amalgamated with 'B' Company, 4th Canadian M.G. Battalion.)

HQ: Drill Hall, Cartier Square, Ottawa, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 37.

PERPETUATES: 38th and 207th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, except for regimental badges, &c. Blue hackle not yet authorized.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'Mount Sorrel', '*Somme* 1916', 'Ancre Heights', 'Ancre 1916', '*Arras* 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', '*Ypres* 1917', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', '*Drocourt-Queant*', '*Hindenburg Line*', '*Canal du Nord*', '*Valenciennes*', 'Sambre', 'France and Flanders 1916–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Pibroch o' Donald Dhu.*
March of the Cameron Men.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Advance.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders.

The Essex Scottish

ORGANIZED: 1885 as 21st 'Essex', Battalion of Infantry.
1887 — 21st Battalion, Essex Fusiliers.
1900 — 21st Regiment, Essex Fusiliers.
1920 — The Essex Fusiliers.
1927 — Present title.

HQ: Windsor, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 40.

PERPETUATES: 18th, 199th and 241st Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Feather bonnet, with white hackle. Balmoral bonnet with diced border, scarlet and white. Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Tartan, MacGregor. Sporran, white, with two black tails. Hose, red and black. Buttons on spats, black. Shoulder-straps, blue, with white cross-stripes and piping. Full dress worn only by drummers and pipers, who wear feather bonnets.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915, '17', 'Festubert 1915', 'Mount Sorrel', '*Somme* 1916, '18', '*Flers-Courcelette*', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', 'Arras 1917, '18', '*Vimy*, 1917', '*Hill* 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'Canal du Nord', '*Cambrai* 1918', '*Pursuit to Mons*', 'France and Flanders, 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Semper paratus.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Essex Regiment.

The 48th Highlanders of Canada

ORGANIZED: 1891 as 48th Battalion (Highlanders).
1900 — 48th Regiment (Highlanders).
1930 — Present title.

HQ: Toronto, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 41.

PERPETUATES: 15th, 92nd and 134th Battallions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Feather bonnet, with white hackle. Balmoral, blue, with diced border.

Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Tartan, Davidson. Sporran, black, with two white tails. Hose, red and black. Pipers wear Fingask tartan. White shell-jackets are worn.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1899–1900', '*Ypres* 1915, '17', 'Gravenstafel', 'St. Julien', '*Festubert* 1915', '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Somme* 1916', 'Pozières', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', 'Arras 1917', '18', '*Vimy*, 1917', 'Arleux', 'Scarpe 1917, '18', '*Hill* 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', '*Drocourt-Queant*', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Canal du Nord*', 'Pursuit to Mons', 'France and Flanders 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Dileas Gu Brath.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Gordon Highlanders.

The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's)

ORGANIZED: 1903 as 91st Highlanders.
1904 — 91st Regiment, Canadian Highlanders.
1920 — Princess Louises (Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders) of Canada.
1927 — The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's).
1936 — The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's) (M.G.).
1941 — Present title.

HQ: Hamilton, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 46.

PERPETUATES: 19th, 173rd, and 3rd M.G. Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for the Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's), except regimental badges, &c.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'Mount Sorrel', '*Somme* 1916, '18', 'Flers-Courcelette', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', '*Arras* 1917, '18 '*Vimy*', 1917', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', '*Drocourt-Quéant*', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'Canal Du Nord', 'Cambrai 1918', '*Pursuit to Mons*', 'France and Flanders 1915, '18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *The Campbells are Coming.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Albainn-Gu-Brath.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's).

The Lake Superior Scottish Regiment (Motor)

ORGANIZED: 1905 as 96th, The Lake Superior Regiment.
1920 — The Lake Superior Regiment.
1946 — The Lake Superior Regiment (Motor).
1949 — Present title.

HQ: Port Arthur, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 47.

PERPETUATES: 52nd and 141st Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Feather bonnet. Hackle, golden-yellow. Glengarry, blue, with diced border. Scarlet doublet. Facings, golden-yellow. Tartan, McGillivray. Sporran, white horse-hair, two black tails. Hose, McGillivray tartan. Bugle-strings, blue, with French-grey tassels.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915, '17', 'Festubert 1915', '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Somme* 1916', 'Flers-Courcelette', 'Ancre Heights', 'Arras 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', '*Hill* 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', 'Drocourt-Quéant', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'Canal du Nord', '*Cambrai* 1918', '*Valenciennes*', 'France and Flanders 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Light of Foot* (Band), *Bugle Horn* (Pipers).

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Inter Pericula Intrepidi.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Northamptonshire Regiment.

The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada

ORGANIZED: 1910 as The 79th Highlanders of Canada.
1920 — The Cameron Highlanders of Canada.
1923 — Present title.

HQ: Minto Armouries, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 51.

PERPETUATES: 43rd, 174th, and 179th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, except for badges, &c. Blue hackle not yet authorized. Pipers wear regimental tartan.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915, '17', 'Festubert 1915', '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Somme* 1916', 'Flers-Courcelette', '*Ancre Heights*', '*Arras* 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', 'Hill 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', 'Drocourt-Quéant', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Canal du Nord*', 'Cambrai 1918', 'Pursuit to Mons', '*France and Flanders* 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Pibroch o' Donald Dhu.*
March of the Cameron Men.
The Royal Blue Hackle.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Ullamh.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders.

The Calgary Highlanders

ORGANIZED: 1910 as The 103rd Regiment (Calgary Rifles).
1921 — The Calgary Regiment.
1921 — Became a kilted regiment.
1928 — Present title.

HQ: Mewata Armouries, Calgary, Alberta.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 53

PERPETUATES: 10th, 56th and 82nd Battalions C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's), except for badges, &c. Pipe-Major wears 10th Battalion, C.E.F., pipe-banner. Bugle-strings, black and green. An oak leaf and an acorn are incorporated in the shoulder-badge, in memory of the 10th C.E.F. Battalion's part in the battle of St. Julien, April 1915.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915, '17', 'Gravenstafel', '*St. Julien*', 'Festubert 1915', 'Mount Sorrel', '*Somme* 1916', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', 'Arras 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', '*Arleux*', '*Hill* 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918',

'*Drocourt-Quéant*', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'Canal du Nord', 'Pursuit to Mons', 'France and Flanders 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Highland Laddie.*
Blue Bonnets o'er the Border.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Onward.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's).

The Seaforth Highlanders of Canada

ORGANIZED: 1911 as The 72nd Highlanders of Canada.
1912 — The 72nd Seaforth Highlanders of Canada.
1920 — Present title.

HQ: Seaforth Armouries, Vancouver, British Columbia.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 55.

PERPETUATES: 72nd and 231st Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-Shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's), except for regimental badges, blue facings, and no shoulder-straps. White shell-jackets are worn. Bugle-strings, Royal.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915, '17' '*Festubert* 1915', '*Somme* 1916', 'Ancre Heights', 'Ancre 1916', 'Arras 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', '*Drocourt-Quéant*', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Canal du Nord*', '*Valenciennes*', 'Sambre', '*France and Flanders* 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Pibroch o' Donald Dhu.*
Blue Bonnets o'er the Border.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Cuidich'n Righ.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's).

The Canadian Scottish Regiment (Princess Mary's)

ORGANIZED: 1912 as 88th Regiment (Victoria Fusiliers).
1913 — 50th Regiment (unofficially known as The Gordon Highlanders of Canada).
1920 — Both above amalgamated to form The Canadian Scottish Regiment.
1948 — Present title.

HQ: Bay Street Armouries, Victoria, British Columbia.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 58.

PERPETUATES: 16th, 48th, 67th, 88th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Feather bonnet, white hackle. Glengarry, blue, diced border. Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Tartan, Hunting Stuart. Sporran, white horse-hair, two black tails. Hose, Rob Roy tartan; Pipers, Hunting Stuart. (Up to 1927 the pipers wore Lennox tartan. Shoulder-straps edged blue. Unit shoulder-titles 'the French oak-leaf and acorn' (or 'soup-plate'), worn to commemorate the counter-attack by the 16th (with the 10th) Battalion, C.E.F., at St. Julien, Second Battle of Ypres, night of 22–23rd April, 1915.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Ypres* 1915, '17', 'Gravenstafel', '*St. Julien*', '*Festubert* 1915', '*Mount Sorrel*', '*Somme* 1916', 'Pozières', 'Flers-Courcelette', 'Thiepval', 'Ancre Heights', 'Ancre 1916', 'Arras 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', 'Arleux', 'Scarpe 1917

'18', 'Hill 70', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', '*Drocourt-Quéant*', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Canal du Nord*', 'Pursuit to Mons', 'France and Flanders 1915–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Blue Bonnets over the Border.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Deas Gu Cath.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).
(The 2nd Battalion is the 66th Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment, R.C.A.)

The Toronto Scottish Regiment

ORGANIZED: 1921 as The Missisuaga Regiment.
1921 — The Toronto Scottish Regiment.
1936 — Amalgamated with The 1st Machine-Gun Battalion, organized 1919, to form The Toronto Scottish Regiment (M.G.).
1947 — Present title.

HQ: Toronto, Ontario.

ORDER OF PRECEDENCE: 63

PERPETUATES: 75th and 84th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: As for The London Scottish, except for badges, &c., diced border on Glengarry cap, blue ,white and tan, and hose diced in the same colours. Pipe-bags are covered with Gordon tartan. Black garter-flashes are worn, in perpetual mourning for Colonel Harbottle, a late Commanding Officer.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Somme* 1916', 'Ancre Heights', '*Ancre* 1916', '*Arras* 1917, '18', '*Vimy* 1917', '*Hill* 70', 'Ypres 1917', '*Passchendaele*', '*Amiens*', 'Scarpe 1918', '*Drocourt-Quéant*', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Canal du Nord*', '*Valenciennes*', 'Sambre', 'France and Flanders, 1916–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Blue Bonnets o'er the Border.*
A Hundred Pipers an' a'.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Carry On.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The London Scottish The Gordon Highlanders, (T.A.).

The 9th Anti-tank Regiment (Self-Propelled) (Argyll Light Infantry) R.C.A.

ORGANIZED: 1863 as 15th Battalion, Infantry, 'Belleville'.
1871 — 15th Battalion, 'Argyll Light Infantry'.
1900 — 15th Regiment, Argyll Light Infantry.
1920 — The Argyll Light Infantry.
1936 — The Argyll Light Infantry (Tank).
9th Field Brigade organized 1905.
Became 44th Field Regiment, 1942.
1946 — Above two regiments amalgamated, with present title.

HQ: Belleville, Gananoque and Napanee, Ontario.

PERPETUATES: 155th Battalion, C.E.F. and 9th Field Brigad e, R.C.A.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *The Campbells are Coming.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nulli Secundus.*

The 54th Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment (Scots Fusiliers of Canada) R.C.A.

ORGANIZED: 1914 as The 108th Regiment.

1920 — The North Waterloo Regiment.
1928 — The Scots Fusiliers of Canada.
1946 — Converted to artillery, with present title.

HQ: Kitchener, Ontario.

PERPETUATES: 118th Battalion, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Before 1946: Fusilier cap, with white hackle. Glengarry, blue, with diced border, Scarlet doublet. Facings, blue. Trews, 42nd tartan. Pipers, Erskine tartan.

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Highland Laddie.*
The British Grenadiers.

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Royal Scots Fusiliers.

The 59th Light Anti-Aircraft Rgt. (Lanark and Renfrew Scottish) R.C.A.

ORGANIZED: 1866 as 42nd Brockville Battalion of Infantry.
1897 — 42nd Lanark and Renfrew Battalion of Infantry.
1900 — 42nd Lanark and Renfrew Regiment.
1920 — The Lanark and Renfrew Regiment.
1927 — The Lanark and Renfrew Scottish Regiment.
1946 — Converted to artillery, with present title.

HQ: Pembroke, Ontario.

PERPETUATES: 130th and 240th Battalions, C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Before 1946: In 1932 authorized to wear uniform of The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment), except for the hackle, which was white with a red base, and regimental badges and buttons. Pipers, Royal Stuart tartan.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Fac at Spera.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment).

The 66th Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment (Canadian Scottish Regiment) R.C.A.

ORGANIZED: 1930 as 2nd Battalion Canadian Scottish Regiment.
1936 — 2nd Battalion (Machine-Gun), The Canadian Scottish Regiment.
1936 — Present title.

HQ: Nanaimo, British Columbia.

PERPETUATES: 103rd and 143rd Battalions C.E.F.

UNIFORM: Before 1936: As for The Canadian Scottish Regiment.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Blue Bonnets o'er the Border.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Deas Gu Cath.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment).

Disbanded 1946.

The Prince Edward Island Highlanders

ORGANIZED: 1875 as Queen's County Provisional Battalion of Infantry.

1876 — Queen's County Battalion of Infantry.
1879 — 82nd Queen's County Battalion of Infantry.
1906 — 82nd Abegweit Light Infantry.
1920 — The Prince Edward Island Regiment.
1927 — The Prince Edward Island Highlanders.
1946 — Disbanded.
('Abegweit', an Indian word, i.e. 'Resting on the waves', referring to Prince Edward Island.) (105th Battalion C.E.F. was recruited from the 82nd.)

UNIFORM: As for The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment), except for badges &c. Red hackle was worn in Canada. Pipers wore hose of Rob Roy tartan. Officers wore grey Balmoral bonnets, in S.D. and B.D.

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South Africa 1900', '*Arras* 1917, '18', 'Ypres 1917', '*Amiens*', 'Hindenburg Line', '*Pursuit to Mons*'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Semper Fidelis.*

(It seems like ingratitude to have disbanded a regiment with such a motto! But its personnel, with that of The Prince Edward Island Light Horse, enlisted in the 17th Reconnaissance (Prince Edward Island) Regiment.

Disbanded 1936

THE 13TH SCOTTISH LIGHT DRAGOONS

The 79th, Shefford and Brome Regiment (Highlanders), organized 1872, was amalgamated in 1901, with the 52nd Regiment (Brome Light Infantry), to form the 79th Shefford and Brome Regiment (Highlanders). This regiment was converted, in 1904, to cavalry, with above title. It suffered very heavy casualties in the War of 1914–18, but was reorganized after it (1921).

H.Q.: Waterloo, Quebec.

UNIFORM: Cap, blue, with diced band. Scarlet dragoon tunic. Facings, yellow. Pantaloons, blue, with yellow stripe.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Virtute et Labore* (The Dundonald motto).

Disbanded after the War of 1914–18

THE NOVA SCOTIA HIGHLAND BRIGADE

Consisted of:

85th Nova Scotia Highlanders
185th Cape Breton Highlanders } Perpetuated by The Cape Breton Highlanders
193rd Nova Scotia Highlanders (Perpetuated by The North Nova Scotia Highlanders).
219th Overseas Highland Battalion.
246th Depot Battalion (Perpetuated by The Pictou Highlanders).
Feathers worn in Bonnet: 85th, red; 185th, green; 193rd, blue; 219th, purple. Depot Battalion: All above combined.

67th Battalion (Western Scots) C.E.F.
96th Battalion (Canadian Highlanders) C.E.F.
113th Battalion (Lethbridge Highlanders) C.E.F.
194th Battalion (Edmonton Highlanders) C.E.F.
253rd Battalion (Queen's University Highlanders) C.E.F.
The above five units are perpetuated by non-Scottish regiments, or are not perpetuated.

Disbanded 1908.

THE GLENGARRY HIGHLANDERS

This regiment was authorized in 1904, but apparently never became an active unit.

POSTSCRIPT

The Reorganization of 1954.

As a result of the Kennedy Report on the Reserve Army, a reorganization took place late in 1954, which involved a transfer of the responsibility for anti-tank defence to the Royal Canadian Armoured Corps, a consequent increase in the number of armoured regiments, the conversion of some units, and the amalgamation or disbandment of others.

Scottish units affected are as follows:

The PERTH REGIMENT and the HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY OF CANADA had been amalgamated, to form the PERTH AND WATERLOO REGIMENT (HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY OF CANADA).

The NEW BRUNSWICK SCOTTISH and the CARLETON AND YORK REGIMENT, to form the 1st BATTALION, THE NEW BRUNSWICK REGIMENT (CARLETON AND YORK), with H.Q. at Saint John, New Brunswick.

The NORTH NOVA SCOTIA HIGHLANDERS, the PICTOU HIGHLANDERS (MOTOR) and 89th LIGHT ANTI-AIRCRAFT BATTERY, to form the 1st BATTALION THE NOVA SCOTIA HIGHLANDERS, with H.Q. at Truro, Nova Scotia.

The CAPE BRETON HIGHLANDERS have been re-designated the 2nd BATTALION, THE NOVA SCOTIA HIGHLANDERS, with H.Q. at Sydney, Nova Scotia.

The ESSEX SCOTTISH and the KENT REGIMENT, to form the ESSEX AND KENT SCOTTISH.

The CANADIAN SCOTTISH REGIMENT (PRINCESS MARY'S) has absorbed the 62nd ANTI-TANK BATTERY (Self-Propelled) and the 66th LIGHT ANTI-AIRCRAFT REGIMENT (its own 2nd Battalion).

The 9th ANTI-TANK REGIMENT (ARGYLL LIGHT INFANTRY) has been absorbed by the HASTINGS AND PRINCE EDWARD REGIMENT.

The STORMONT, DUNDAS and GLENGARRY HIGHLANDERS and the CAMERON HIGHLANDERS OF OTTAWA have become Machine-Gun regiments.

The QUEEN'S OWN CAMERON HIGHLANDERS OF CANADA has become a motor regiment.

The Reserve Army reverts to its old name—The Militia—and Militia Group Headquarters have been set up to control Militia units of all arms within their areas.

APPENDIX III

AUSTRALIAN SCOTTISH REGIMENTS

The military history of Australia differs from that of Canada and South Africa in that, from 1788 until the rise of Japan in the twentiteh century, the country was able to develop peacefully, free alike from external threats of invasion and from aboriginal revolts.

Throughout that period the only incident involving the active use of troops was the affair of the 'Eureka Stockade' at Ballarat, during a gold-rush period in 1854. There was an armed insurrection of the 'diggers', owing to their resentment at the licence fees for prospecting and specially the methods employed in collecting them, which ended in a fight with a small number of British regulars. Casualties on both sides were said to have numbered something over a hundred, and Peter Lalor, who led the diggers, instead of meeting the usual fate of a rebel in non-British countries, eventually held ministerial offices in the government.

Under these conditions, there was no special urgency about raising troops in Australia, until President Kruger began to stir up military enthusiasm throughout the Empire. The following pages show that two of the five existing Australian Scottish units date their history from 1898 and 1899—the New South Wales Scottish had been in existence since 1855—and that four of them sent volunteers to the South African War.

The pedigrees of these regiments show that since then there have been several regroupings. In 1903 the Federal reorganization resulted in the renumbering and redesignation of many units. Then an important change came in 1912, with the introduction of universal training and battalion areas.

Battle honours show what these regiments did between 1914 and 1918 but, as in Canada, special battalions were made up of drafts from existing units and were given A.I.F. numbers. In order to perpetuate the numbers these battalions had made famous, in Gallipoli, on the Somme, at Pozières, Passchendaele and on many other battlefields, the permanent units and areas were appropriately renumbered in 1921, so as to carry on the traditions of their men who had served overseas.

Compulsory training continued from 1921 to 1929 and then voluntary service took its place, but only lasted until the second World War, during which Australian troops again served in many campaigns, adding to their previous reputation for being as tough and as enterprising as they come.

In 1948 voluntary service was restored once more and the volunteer units were designated the 'Citizen Military Forces'. The Scots, in their five regiments, keep up all their national customs and each of them is affiliated to one of the old regular Highland regiments. With experience and tradition behind them and modern equipment, plus the keenness which goes with a self-appointed task, their target now is to be ready, if another war comes, not a few months after it begins, but on the day.

5th Battalion (The Victorian Scottish Regiment)

RAISED: 1898 — Raised in Melbourne, as The Victorian Scottish Regiment.
1903 — The Victorian Scottish Regiment, 1st Battalion.

1912 — 52nd (Hobson's Bay) Infantry.
1918 — 52nd and 51st (Albert Park) Infantry united to form 2/5th Infantry.
1921 — 2/5th and sub-units of 29th (Port Philip) Light Horse, 2/46th Infantry and 2/60th Infantry, united to form the 5th Battalion.
1929 — Present title.

HQ: South Melbourne.

UNIFORM: Bonnet, blue, with diced border. Tartan, Gordon. Hose, red and black. Buttons on spats, black. Colour patch, rectangle, top half black, bottom red. No. 1 Dress slashes, yellow.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*South Africa* 1899–1902', '*Somme* 1916, '18', '*Pozières*', '*Bullecourt*', '*Ypres* 1917', '*Menin Road*', 'Polygon Wood', '*BROODSIENDE*', 'Poelcapelle', 'Passchendaele', 'Lys', '*Hazebrouck*', '*AMIENS*', 'Albert 1918', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'Epehy', 'France and Flanders 1916 '18', '*Helles*', 'Krithia', 'Anzac', '*Landing at Anzac*', 'Defence of Anzac', 'Suvla', 'Sari Bair', 'Gallipoli 1915', 'Egypt 1915, '16'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Cock o' the North.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Gordon Highlanders.

16th Battalion (The Cameron Highlanders of Western Australia)

RAISED: 1899 — Detachments formed to keep order during the gold rush, at Broad Arrow, Coolgardie, Kanowa and Menzies.
1899 — These formed 5th Battalion Reserve Volunteer Force.
1901 — 5th (Goldfields) Battalion of Western Australian Infantry.
1903 — Goldfields Infantry Regiment of Western Australia.
1912 — 84th Infantry (Goldfields) Regiment.
1918 — 2/2nd Pioneer Regiment (to perpetuate A.I.F. unit of that name).
1921 — 2/2nd Pioneers and 23rd Field Ambulance were combined to form 16th Battalion (The Goldfields Regiment). Some time after this owing to lack of personnel, the 16th was linked with the 11th Battalion to form 11/16th Battalion.
1936 — At the instigation of Captain Courtney and with the help of the Scottish Union, the battalion was recruited up to strength as a Scottish unit, with present title.

HQ: Perth, Western Australia.

UNIFORM: Bonnet, blue. Tartan, Cameron of Erracht. Hose, red and green. Colour patch, rectangle, top half white, bottom blue. No. 1 Dress slashes, blue.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*South Africa* 1902', 'Somme 1916, '18', '*Pozières*', '*Bullecourt*', '*Messines* 1917', '*Ypres* 1917', 'Menin Road', '*Polygon Wood*', 'Passchendaele', 'Arras 1918', 'Ancre 1918', '*Hamel*', '*Amiens*', 'Albert 1918', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'Epéhey', 'France and Flanders 1916, '18', 'Anzac', '*Landing at Anzac*', 'Defence of Anzac', 'Suvla', '*Sari Bair*', 'Gallipoli 1915', 'Egypt 1915–16'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Vincens.*

ALLIED REGIMENTS:
The Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Regiment.
The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders.

27th Battalion (The South Australian Scottish Regiment)

RAISED: 1912 — Four companies from the 1st Battalion, South Australian Infantry, became the 74th Infantry (Boothby Battalion). Later 1st Battalion was added to the title.
1918 — 2nd Battalion 27th Infantry (Boothby Regiment).
1921 — 2/27th was amalgamated with the 5/27th (previously 75th Infantry, formed in 1918) and became the 27th Battalion (South Australian Infantry).
1938 — Present title.

HQ: Torrens Training Depot, Adelaide, South Australia.

UNIFORM: Bonnet, blue with diced border. Tartan, Mackenzie. Hose, red and white. Colour patch, diamond, top half brown, bottom light blue. No. 1 Dress slashes, buff.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*South Africa* 1899–1902', 'Somme 1916, '18', '*Pozières*', '*Bullecourt*', '*Ypres* 1917', '*Menin Road*', 'Polygon Wood', '*Broodseinde*', 'Poelcapelle', 'Passchendaele', '*Amiens*', '*Albert* 1918', '*Mont St. Quentin*', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'Beaurevoir', 'France and Flanders 1916, '18', '*Gallipoli* 1915', 'Egypt 1915–16'

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *British Grenadiers.*
The Spring of Shillelagh.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Primus Inter Pares.*

ALLIED REGIMENTS:
The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers.
The Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs, The Duke of Albany's).

30th Battalion (The New South Wales Scottish Regiment)

RAISED: 1885 — The New South Wales Scottish Rifles was formed by Scotsmen in Sydney, led by Sir Henry Norman McLauren, M.L.C., M.D.
1896 — It became part of the 5th (Union) Volunteer Regiment, composed of Irish, Scottish and St. George's Rifles.
1897 — The Scottish and Irish Rifles became the 8th (Union) Regiment.
1901 — The Scottish Rifles became the 5th New South Wales Infantry Regiment (Scottish Rifles).
1903 — The regiment was divided into the 1st New South Wales Scottish Rifles, and the 2nd New South Wales Rifles.
1908 — These battalions were styled 1st Battalions of the 1st and 2nd Regiments, New South Wales Scottish Rifles.
1912 — Both battalions were drafted to the 16th Infantry and the 25th (City of Sydney) Infantry, one company to the former and seven to the latter.
1913 — Four companies of 25th formed the 26th Infantry.
1918 — 26th became part of 2/1st Infantry Regiment.
1918 — Title changed to 2nd Battalion, 30th Infantry Regiment.
1921 — Amalgamated with part of 2/4th Infantry with present title.

HQ: Sydney, N.S.W.

UNIFORM: Bonnet, blue. Tartan, 42nd. Hose, red and black. Colour patch, rectangle, front half purple, rear half yellow. No. 1 Dress-slashes, blue.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*South Africa* 1900–02', '*Somme* 1916, '18', '*Bapaume* 1917', '*Bullecourt*', '*Ypres* 1917', 'Menin Road', '*Polygon Wood*', 'Poelcapelle', 'Passchendaele', '*Ancre* 1918', '*Amiens*', '*Albert* 1918', 'Mont St. Quentin', '*Hindenburg Line*', '*St. Quentin Canal*', 'France and Flanders 1916–18', 'Egypt 1915–16.'

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Blue Bonnets O'er the Border.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *In Omni Modo Fidelis.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment).

41st Battalion (The Byron Regiment)

(The title is derived from the Cape Byron Bay district of New South Wales, named by Captain James Cook after Admiral George Anson (Lord) Byron. In 1824 the admiral erected a monument near the spot where Cook was killed.)

1914 — The 12th Infantry. (Information previous to this date not available.)
1915 — The 12th (Byron) Infantry.
1918 — 2nd Battalion, The 41st Infantry (Byron Regiment).
1921 — Amalgamated with 16th Field Ambulance to form The 41st Battalion.
1927 — Present title.

HQ: (COYS): Lismore, Grafton, Casino and Murwillumbah.

UNIFORM: Bonnet, blue, with scarlet and white diced border. Tartan, Sutherland. Hose, red and white. Colour patch, oval horizantally divided, top black, bottom light blue. No. 1 Dress-slashes, yellow.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Messines* 1917', '*Ypres* 1917', 'Polygon Wood', '*Broodseinde*', 'Poelcapelle', '*Passchendaele*', '*Somme* 1918', '*Ancre* 1918', '*Hamel*', '*Amiens*', 'Albert 1918', '*Mont St. Quentin*', '*Hindenburg Line*', 'St. Quentin Canal', 'France and Flanders 1916–18'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Mors ante Pudorem.*

ALLIED REGIMENT.
The Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders (Princess Louise's).

APPENDIX IV

SCOTTISH UNITS OF NEW ZEALAND

1st Divisional Regiment, Royal New Zealand Armoured Corps (New Zealand Scottish)

RAISED: 1939 as The New Zealand Scottish Regiment. (Two battalions—1st from North Island, 2nd from South Island.)
1943 — Personnel drafted—many to the Ruahine Regiment—and unit disbanded.
1949 — Unit re-formed, with present title.

HQ: Wellington.

UNIFORM: Glengarry, badge, kilt, sporran, hose, garters, as for Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment).

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Highland Laddie.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit.*

ALLIED REGIMENT: The Royal Scots Greys (2nd Dragoons).
The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment).

Disbanded Units:

Christchurch Highlanders (Volunteers). (One Company. Tartan, Gordon.)

Dunedin Highland Rifles (Volunteers). (One Company. Tartan, 42nd.)

Wanganui Highland Rifles (Volunteers). (One Company. Tartan, Gordon.)

Wellington Highland Rifles (Volunteers). (One Company. Tartan, Mackenzie.)

[1] The formation of the four Scottish Volunteer Companies began with the Dunedin Company in 1885, and these units appear to have existed until about 1911, when their personnel transferred to the N.Z. Territorial Force. After this there was no recognized Scottish unit, and for some years after 1918 there was a general lack of interest in Military affairs.

In 1937 the Scottish Societies, led by those in Dunedin, became very active in their desire to form a Scottish infantry unit, which was accomplished in 1939. Only men of proved Scottish descent were accepted, and affiliation to the Black Watch was authorized. There was much disappointment that the unit was not sent on active service, but was only permitted to provide drafts.

After ceasing to exist in 1943 (all its personnel having gone—many of them to Italy), it was reformed in 1949 as an armoured reconnaissance regiment. The Dunedin squadron was the first New Zealand Territorial unit to take part in an airlift, which is now a normal feature of training.

[1] Scottish Volunteer Companies were formed as early as 1860 but had an intermittent existence, of which complete records are not available.

APPENDIX V

SOUTH AFRICAN SCOTTISH REGIMENTS

In the early years the South African forces consisted almost entirely of volunteer units, which were usually raised by the local inhabitants for purposes of defence and maintaining order, in case of trouble, in their own districts. They, of course, had to obtain official approval to raise a unit and were then issued with arms, but had to provide their uniforms. They made their own rules, which covered such points as fines up to £5 for absence from a drill and lesser amounts for drunkenness, insubordination, untidiness on parade, &c., and had to undertake to mobilize very rapidly, e.g. within two hours. In some units officers were elected and could lose their commissions for absence from two drills. So it is clear that men who were not going to be smart and keen volunteers were not desired, and the general impression is that these units were very efficient.

The battle honours of the regiments show that, like the Canadians, they have fought in campaigns in their own country, as well as overseas during the two World Wars. Like Canada, but more recently, they had their troubles with the natives—the Kaffirs, Basutos, Zulus, &c.—as well as conflicts between rival colonists, and no doubt, in course of time, South Africa too will be able to forget her racial disagreements.

The Scots have, as usual, taken their full share of military service. Where there were sufficient numbers they were usually permitted to form a Scottish company, but naturally they preferred when possible to form complete units where there was full scope for keeping up the ancient military traditions of Scotland.

The year 1912 brought an unimportant change, with the South African Defence Act, which introduced compulsory training and the 'Active Citizen Force'. The word 'Volunteers' was then dropped from regimental titles and there was a considerable amount of regrouping and reorganizing.

This force has continued to develop through the two World Wars, sending service units to the first, e.g. the South African Scottish, and in the second carrying out many temporary amalgamations, such as the 1st City/Cape Town Highlanders. The Battle Honours of the South African Scottish, for the 1914–18 war, cover those of all the Scottish regiments, as they did not go on service as units, but sent drafts to this and other Service battalions.

Reforms are now proceeding and some permanent amalgamations appear to be envisaged—Lieut-.Colonels are now styled Commandants, Privates are 'Skutters' (i.e. Riflemen) and emphasis is laid on bi-lingualism.

There are, at present, five Scottish units, described in the following pages, all of which are very keenly active. They provide their Scottish dress and full equipment for their pipers and bandsmen, from their own funds, being granted an allowance only for the general issue articles which they do not use. They retain all their national customs, but a glance at their casualty lists, nominal rolls, &c., will show that they have not remained exclusively Scottish, and some of their best achievements were accomplished under Generals and Commanding Officers with Dutch names. In fact they are an excellent example of the way in which the two nationalities can work together.

The First City

RAISED: 1875 as The First City Volunteers.
1900 — Mounted Infantry Companies formed main part of Marshall's Horse.
1903 — Highland Company formed.
1913 — 4th Infantry. (Formed by amalgamation of First City Volunteers and Queenstown Rifle Volunteers.) Highland Company ceased to exist.
1914 — First Eastern Rifles.
1915–19 — After serving in S.W. Africa, provided personnel for 4th South African Infantry and other units.
1924 — First City.
1943 — First City/Cape Town Highlanders (Temporary amalgamation for overseas service.)
1946 — Reverted to above title.

(This unit is fourth in seniority in the Union, and claims descent from the Grahamstown Volunteers which existed before 1835. It is never referred to as the First City 'Regiment'. Grahamstown is the oldest city (not the oldest town) in Cape Province, named in 1812, after Colonel John Graham of the 93rd Highlanders. It was called 'the City of Saints', either because of its many churches, or on account of a reply by the Ordnance Department there, to a message from E. London asking for a vice—'No vice in Grahamstown'!)

HQ: Grahamstown, C.P.

UNIFORM: Tartan, Graham of Montrose. (Permission granted by the Duke of Montrose.) First City/Cape Town Highlanders wore a hackle of the colours of the 6th South African Armoured Division, yellow over green, for which they were nicknamed 'the budgerigars', or 'budgies'.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Gaika-Gcaleka* 1877–8' '*Ntaba-Ndoda*', '*Basutoland* 1880–1', '*Witte Kopjes*', '*Mafeking*', '*Mathhabi*', '*Kalabani*', '*Lerothodi's Village*', '*Tweefontein*', '*Boleka*', '*Langeberg* 1896–7', '*Anglo-Boer War* 1899–1902', '*Cape Colony*', '*Orange Free State*', '*Johannesburg*', '*Diamond Hill*', '*South-West Africa* 1914–15'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Bonnie Dundee.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Virtute et Opera.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Regiment.

(The Scottish connection dates back to 1875 but, owing to questions of finance, it has not always worn Highland dress. It was for this reason that the Highland Company was not formed until 1903, and after the 1914–18 War, ordinary uniform was worn until, in 1935, the whole regiment was re-equipped with Highland dress.)

The Queen's Own Cape Town Highlanders

RAISED: 1885 as The Cape Town Highlanders (originating from the Scottish Company of The Duke of Edinburgh's Own Volunteer Rifles, formed 1882).
1906 — The Duke of Connaught and Strathearn's Own Cape Town Highlanders.
1915–19 — Provided personnel for the 4th South African Infantry (South African Scottish).
1943 — Combined with First City, as First City/Cape Town Highlanders.

1948 — Present title. (H.M. The Queen, now The Queen Mother, became Colonel-in-Chief in 1947.)

HQ: Cape Town, C.P.

UNIFORM: As for The Gordon Highlanders, except for badges and buttons. In full dress (up to 1910), the black line in the officers' lace was omitted. Full dress now worn only by pipers and drummers. The first uniform (1886) consisted of black helmet, green doublet, kilt and plaid of Gordon tartan, sporran and hose as for A. & S.H. In 1893 white helmets and scarlet doublets were adopted.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Bechuanaland* 1897', '*South Africa* 1899–1902', '*South-West Africa* 1915'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Cock 'o the North.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Gordon Highlanders.

The Witwatersrand Rifles

RAISED: 1899 as The Railway Pioneer Regiment, from mine employees on the Rand.
1903 — The Witwatersrand Rifles.
1906 — Detachment formed 'D' Company, Natal Rangers, served in the Natal (Zulu) Rebellion.
1907 — On disbandment of The Transvaal Light Infantry, many of its personnel joined the regiment, handing on their regimental plate and trophies.
1914 — Was the first A.C.F. unit to proceed on active service.
1915 — After serving in S.W. Africa, provided personnel for 3rd, 7th and 8th South African Infantry.
1934 — Trained as Machine-gun Battalion; 1936, as Anti-Tank Regiment.
1939–45 — While on service in Italy, was amalgamated with The De La Rey Regiment.
1940 — A 2nd Battalion raised. Was drafted to other units on arrival in the Middle East.
1939–43 — 4th Battalion (Witwatersrand), 1st Reserve Brigade.
1944–46 — 5th and 9th Battalions N.V.B. (Security) (Witwatersrand Rifles) (V).

HQ: The Drill Hall, Johannesburg.

UNIFORM: As for The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles), from 1939, with minor modifications. Pipers kilted. The regiment has drums. (Up to 1915, when the instruments were donated to the 3rd South African Infantry, the regiment had a brass band which, in 1909, won the 'South African Band Contest Volunteer Challenge Trophy.')

BATTLE HONOURS: 'South-West Africa 1914–15.'

REGIMENTAL MARCHES: *Kenmuirs Gang Awa.*
Black Bear.

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Pro Deo Rege Patria.*

ALLIED REGIMENTS:
The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles).
The Perth Regiment of Canada.
The Otago and Southland Regiment of New Zealand.

The Transvaal Scottish

RAISED: 1902 as The Transvaal Scottish Volunteer Regiment.
1906 — Detachment formed 'C' Company Natal Rangers. Served in the Natal (Zulu) Rebellion. Action at Mome Gorge.
1910 — The Transvaal Scottish.
1912 — 8th Infantry (Transvaal Scottish).
1914 — 2nd Battalion raised. Disbanded 1915.
1915–19 — Provided personnel for 4th South African Infantry (South African Scottish).
1922 — Served in Rand revolt. Lost 17 killed and 60 wounded.
1932 — Reverted to above title, (1910).
1936 — 2nd Battalion revived.
1939 — 3rd Battalion formed.
1945 — 2nd and 3rd Battalions having been wiped out at Tobruk and Sidi Rezegh and 1st Battalion much depleted, survivors were posted to The Duke's Scottish Royal Light Infantry.
1946 — The three battalions re-constituted—1st and 2nd as Motorized Infantry, the 3rd as The 7th Medium Regiment (3rd Transvaal Scottish), South African Artillery.
1954 — The two infantry battalions amalgamated.

HQ: Johannesburg and Benoni.

UNIFORM: Balmoral bonnet, with diced border and scarlet tourie. Kilt, Murray of Atholl. Pipers, Murray of Tullibardine. Sporran, brown, with six white tassels. Hose, scarlet and black. Shoulder-titles, 1st, black letters on yellow; 2nd, black on scarlet. 3rd Battalion, Balmoral, as for 1st and 2nd, cut-away jacket, tartan trews. Artillery badges and titles. The red hackle, authorized 1938, is worn in the khaki Balmoral, and in the feather bonnet of the Drum-Major. Band wears full dress, scarlet doublet with buff facings. Sporran, white with two black tails. (At the Royal Highland gatherings, 1946, '47, '48, this band won all open trophies.)

In 1902 the Duke of Atholl gave permission to wear the Murray tartan. The regiment then wore bush hats with blackcock feathers, and a khaki jacket with cartridge pleats above the breast pockets, and three-button slashes on the cuffs (the the latter still worn by officers). The sporran is like that worn by the Atholl Highlanders at Culloden. (Other ranks now only wear the plain leather purse.)

BATTLE HONOURS: '*South-West Africa* 1914–15'.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *The Atholl Highlanders.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Alba Nam Buadh.*

ALLIED REGIMENT:
The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment).

1st Anti-Tank Regiment, South African Artillery (Pretoria Highlanders)

RAISED: 1939 — On initiative of Transvaal and Pretoria Caledonian Societies, the Pretoria Highlanders was raised as a volunteer service battalion. Strength authorized was 1,000, but in three weeks 1,300 enlisted.

Served in Madagascar and Middle East, 1943–4. Nicknamed 'the Jacaranda Jocks'. Being much depleted the battalion was drafted as reinforcements in 1943.

1941 — The 1st Anti-Tank Regiment was formed from three volunteer batteries, raised in 1940, which had served in East Africa, 1940–1.

1942 — Draft sent to form 1/11 Anti-Tank Regiment.
1st Anti-Tank Regiment disbanded at end of war.

1946 — Both units (Pretoria Highlanders and 1 Anti-Tank Regiment) were reconstituted as one regiment, with present title.

UNIFORM: Khaki Balmoral with bottle-green tourie. Glengarry, black, with bottle-green tourie. Kilt, Hunting Stuart tartan. Hose, green, with tops of regimental tartan. Garter-flashes, green. Pipe band formed 1940 (by enlistment of entire personnel of Pretoria Caledonian Society's pipe band). Pipers and drummers wear green doublets, with black and white belts respectively. Sporran, white with two black tails. Collar-badges and buttons of the South African Artillery are worn, except in Mess dress.

REGIMENTAL MARCH: *Bonawe Highlanders.*

REGIMENTAL MOTTO: *Pro Patria.*

Units which have or had a Scottish connection:

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH'S OWN RIFLES.

Formed 1855. Scottish Company formed 1882. In 1885 this became the nucleus of The Cape Town Highlanders. Badge, star of The Most Noble Order of the Thistle.

PRINCE ALFRED'S GUARD.

Formed 1856. Scottish Company, No. 5, formed 1874.

UNIFORM: Cameron tartan. Kilt and plaid. Bonnet with green feathers.

Scottish Company reorganized 1903. Ceased to exist 1913.

UNIFORM: As for Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders. Regimental buttons and badges.

PRINCE ALFRED'S OWN CAPE TOWN CAVALRY. 1861–89.

Plate on their dragoon helmet had the star of the Order of the Thistle. Nickname: 'The Sparklers'.

The above three units were associated with Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, who visited South Africa in 1860 and 1867.

THE QUEENSTOWN RIFLE VOLUNTEERS. 1860–1913.

One Scottish Company. (*See* First City.)

THE KAFFRARIAN RIFLES. 1860–1913.

Scottish Coy (F) existed from 1903 to 1913.

UNIFORM: French grey doublet, with Rifle green facings, Mackenzie tartan. Kilt. Plaid worn by pipers. Sporran, white, with two black tails. Hose, red and white. White spats.

THE ROYAL DURBAN LIGHT INFANTRY.

The Caledonian Company of The Durban Volunteer Infantry Corps, raised in 1890 by Mr. J. S. Wylie, joined, in 1891, The Natal Royal Rifles (Left Half Battalion now The R.D.L.I.)

UNIFORM: Dark blue doublet with red facings, 42nd tartan trews and plaid.

THE KIMBERLEY SCOTS VOLUNTEERS.

Formed 1890. Tartan, Gordon. Amalgamated in 1890 with the Victoria Rifles to form The Kimberley Rifles. Present badge a diamond, &c., is superimposed on the star of the Order of the Thistle. There is a pipe band wearing Mackenzie tartan.

THE SCOTTISH HORSE. (*See under* Yeomanry.)

THE 4TH SOUTH AFRICAN INFANTRY (SOUTH AFRICAN SCOTTISH). 1915–19.

Raised in 1915 as the Scottish battalion of the South African Infantry Brigade, for service in France. It was, for some time, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel D. M. McCleod, D.S.O., M.C., D.C.M., of The Transvaal Scottish. Tartan, Murray of Atholl.

BATTLE HONOURS: '*Egypt* 1916', '*Somme* 1916', '*Delville Wood*', 'Le Transloy', '*Arras* 1917', 'Scarpe 1917', 'Ypres 1917', '*Menin Road*', 'Lys', '*Messines* 1918', 'Kemmel', '*Hindenburg Line*', '*Cambrai* 1918', '*Pursuit to Mons*', '*France and Flanders* 1916–18'.

The veterans of the South African Scottish gather annually at Joubert Park, Pretoria, on 20th July, to celebrate Delville Wood, their proudest (and saddest) memory. In 1952, with thinning ranks, they decided to entrust the permanent care of the memorial to the Transvaal Scottish.

3RD (NATAL SCOTTISH) BATTALION RESERVE BRIGADE. 1940–43.

An ex-Service men's unit. Served in the Union and sent drafts overseas.

THE DUKE'S SCOTTISH RAND LIGHT INFANTRY.

An amalgamated wartime unit, formed from The Duke of Edinburgh's Own Rifles, The Rand Light Infantry, and later, (7th March 1945), the remnants of The Transvaal Scottish. After the war, each unit reverted to its original status.

1ST FIELD AMBULANCE (NATAL).

South African Medical Corps, A.C.F. (Originally the Natal Volunteer Medical Corps, formed in 1899.)

Though not a Scottish unit, an early Scottish association is preserved by the wearing of a square of Mackenzie tartan behind the cap-badge. One of its first medical officers was Captain Archibald Mackenzie, and his son, Major Duncan Mackenzie, later commanded the unit. Another of the family, Sir Duncan Mackenzie, was Commandant of the Natal Militia up to 1910. Lieut.-Colonel D. English, of Durban, Commanding Officer 1936–40, was the originator of this custom, and obtained all the necessary permissions, including those of The Seaforth Highlanders, and the Countess of Cromarty, and the tartan has been worn since 1940.

THE NATAL MOUNTED RIFLES.

South African Armoured Division.

This is not a Scottish unit, but has a Scottish pipe band.

APPENDIX VI

INDIAN AND COLONIAL SCOTTISH UNITS—EXISTING AND DISBANDED

INDIA and PAKISTAN

The Calcutta Scottish

RAISED: 1914 as The Calcutta Scottish Volunteers.
1917 — The Calcutta Scottish.
1920 — The Calcutta Scottish (Army Auxiliary Force, India).
1947 — Disbanded.

UNIFORM: 1914–20: White helmet. Glengarry, green and white diced boreer. Scarlet doublet, facings, white. Lace, buttons, belt buckles, &c., silver. Tartan, Hunting Stewart. Sporran, white goat-hair, six black tassels. Hose, green and white. Garters, green.

The Bombay Volunteer Rifles.

Scottish Company raised, 1914. Disbanded, 1922.
Tartan, Hunting Stewart. Hose, red and green.

BURMA

The Rangoon Volunteer Rifles.

Highland Company raised 1914. Tartan, Hunting Stewart.

SHANGHAI

The Shanghai Volunteer Corps.

Highland Company raised 1914.
Kilt and hose of Hunting Stewart tatran. Garters, scarlet. Sporran, grey, with two black tails. Glengarry, blue, with diced border.

HONGKONG

The Hongkong Volunteer Defence Force.

Scottish Company. Not re-raised after 1946.
Tartan, Gordon.

MALAYA

2nd Selangor Battalion Federated Malay States Volunteer Force.

One Scottish Platoon.
Tartan, Hunting Stewart.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

THE SINGAPORE VOLUNTEER CORPS.

Scottish Company.
Tartan, Hunting Stewart.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

There is no Scottish unit, but the 2nd BN. ROYAL RHODESIAN REGIMENT has had a pipe band for many years, not officially on the strength, but partly sponsored by the Caledonian Society of Bulawayo. It was raised in 1910, by Hugh McCullough and Major Gordon,a retired Gordons officer, who instituted the wearing of Gordon tartan. Full dress similar to that of the Gordons. A number of Southern Rhodesians served with the Black Watch in the war of 1939–45.

'I humbly pray them to admit the excuse
Of time, of numbers, and due course of things,
Which cannot, in their huge and proper life
Be here presented.'

SHAKESPEARE (*King Henry V*)

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PRINTED BY THE BOWERING PRESS, PLYMOUTH
1956

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